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*A. M. Alderson -
The gift of her niece
dear Ella.*

A KEY TO ENGLISH ANTIQUITIES:

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE

TO THE

Sheffield and Rotherham District.

BY

ELLA S. ARMITAGE,

AUTHOR OF

"THE CHILDHOOD OF THE ENGLISH NATION;"

"THE CONNECTION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND," &c.

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PREFACE.

THE aim of this book is to bring a great pleasure within the reach of many persons who would never think of themselves as antiquarians. It is a pleasure which appeals to the instinct of the chase within us; for antiquities must be hunted over hill and dale, through highways and byways, and the interest of looking for them is only equalled by the interest of finding them. It is a pleasure which kindles the imagination, and puts us into living touch with the ages long gone by, and makes us realize that in all ages man was still man, and that nothing human is foreign to us. In a country like England, which teems with antiquities, it is a thousand pities that they should not be much more widely used as a means of mental enlargement and delight. The enjoyment of antiquities has too generally been supposed to be the private privilege of the rich and noble. Antiquaries have usually published their books in huge folios, as though they sought to make them useful to as few people as possible. And the study of antiquities is so entirely neglected in our schools that we cannot wonder that people in general take very little interest in them. We blame the landlord or the farmer who levels some ancient barrow in his fields, or destroys a camp, but we forget

that he has never been taught to know the interest and value of these things.

This little book aims at putting into the hands of the people of Sheffield and Rotherham a key to the antiquities of their neighbourhood, which will help them to understand and enjoy—for to understand is to enjoy—antiquities all over the kingdom. Though written primarily for the use of the inhabitants of this district, I hope that the various types of ancient remains are described with sufficient fulness to make the book useful as a beginner's manual to the study of English antiquities in general.

But I wish at the outset to utter a few words of caution to beginners in the study of antiquities. This study, more than any other, has been the happy hunting ground of people who have been content to take theories, and especially their own theories, instead of facts. Volumes of rubbish have been written about the early history and antiquities of Britain, and it is only with extreme caution that we can pick our way through them to a few facts. I would say with emphasis to the young antiquarian, Beware of Druids; beware of Beltane fires, Baal worship, phallic rites, and all the other stock in trade of the antiquaries of fifty years ago; these things have led astray the most respectable old gentlemen. Beware of confident attempts to identify the sites of King Arthur's battles; beware of etymologies of place-names which are propounded by unscientific people; for etymology is now a science, and it is no more admissible for a person who has not studied its laws to guess at the

meaning of a word than it would be for him to guess at a question of physics. Beware of books which use Geoffrey of Monmouth or Richard of Cirencester or Ingulf of Croyland as authorities, for the writers who do so have not taken the trouble to master the elements of their subject.

I have endeavoured to distinguish conjecture from fact in this book by the constant use of the words "it is supposed" or "it appears"; a use so frequent that it may possibly be wearisome to the reader. But nothing is more necessary, in the present state of English archæology, than carefully to distinguish between facts and conjectures. We shall never have an English archæology which is worthy of the name of a science until people have ceased to put forth their conjectures as facts, or to accept on the same level as facts the conjectures of even experts in the subject.

Though a brief sketch will be found in the Introductory Chapter of the more important historical characters whose names are associated with this neighbourhood, it has not been my intention to write a history of the district, but to describe and explain the concrete remains of the past which are still so richly to be found there. And in order to do this adequately, I have thought it necessary to indicate at some length the place which the social and religious institutions represented by Norman castles and monastic houses occupied in the history of civilization in England.

As it was necessary to draw the line somewhere, I have seldom concerned myself with antiquities later than the

16th century, and county families, pedigrees, and heraldry, are very rarely touched upon. It has been unfortunate that I have been obliged to complete this book at a distance from the country which I describe. Though I have visited every church, ruin,* or earthwork described in these pages, these visits have unavoidably been much briefer than I could have desired. My chapter on the ancient churches of the district would have been more satisfactory if I could have given days instead of hours to the study of them. I trust however that it may be the means of revealing to some who have never known it before how fascinating an amusement is the attempt to trace the architectural history of an ancient church. I regret that I have been unable to visit the ancient churches of Hooton Pagnell, Frickley, Hickleton, and Carlton-in-Lindrick, which ought by rights to have been included in these pages.

My thanks are due to many friends and acquaintances who have kindly supplied me with information in answer to questions, amongst whom I would mention with gratitude Joseph Anderson, Esq., L.L.D.;† the Rev. Canon Bennett, Rector of Thrybergh; the Rev. Canon Browne, now Bishop of Stepney; D. H. S. Cranage, Esq., M.A., author of “The Churches of Shropshire”; Professor Boyd Dawkins; the Rev. Canon Greenwell, whose work on British Barrows is one of the greatest books in English

* With the single exception of Walling Wells.

† To whose admirable books “Scotland in Pagan Times” and “Scotland in Early Christian Times” I am especially indebted.

archæology; Charles Hadfield, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.; R. D. Leader, Esq.; J. G. Ronkesley, Esq.; and Professor Toller, of the Owens College. I wish also to tender my thanks to several clergymen and others who have most courteously answered questions which I addressed to them by letter.

ELLA S. ARMITAGE,

Westholm, Raurdon, Leeds.

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

Page 2. Mr. Addy in his "Hall of Waltheof" gives a list of what he believes to be Scandinavian place-names near Sheffield; but with the single exception of *thwaite* in Butterthwaite, the commonest Scandinavian test-words are conspicuous by their absence.

Page 23. Note † for B. read F.

Page 34, Chapter III. I regret that Mr. Addy's book "The Hall of Waltheof," did not fall into my hands till these sheets had passed through the press, or I should have added to my list of prehistoric earthworks the following: (1) 300 feet to the N.W. of the Bar Dyke is an earthen circle about 70 feet in diameter (Addy, p. 28). It is called in the Ordnance Map "Site of the Apronful of Stones," but this is incorrect, as the cairn which went by that name, and which is now removed, stood near the milestone at the junction of the two roads near the Bar Dyke (p. 34). (2) A mile N.W. of the Bar Dyke is another entrenchment, parallel with it, about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile long, with the ditch on the N. side. Close to its side are a number of tumuli. (3) A short distance to the N. is another circle, 53 feet in diameter, of short upright stones embedded in a rather wide ring of earth. (4) Near the W. edge of Great Roe Wood, which is about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N.E. of Shirecliffe Hall, Pitsmoor, are vestiges of a circular earthwork with an outer ditch, about 200 feet from N. to S. and 190 feet from E. to W. Mr. Addy also mentions that a cinerary urn of the Bronze Age type with a small "incense-cup" inside, and a bent bronze knife (purposely injured, in conformity with a very wide-spread primitive funereal custom) was found at Crookes in 1887, and is now in the Weston Park Museum at Sheffield.

Page 38, line 12. The Roman Rig; a perfect portion near Grimesthorpe. Such at least there was a few years ago; I cannot say whether it still remains. Mr. Addy states that the Roman Rig can be

traced up to the camp on Wincobank Hill. ("Hall of Waltheof," p. 237.) I failed to see any such connection on my visits to the camp. What I did see was that the Rig coats the face of the hill at a considerable distance below the camp, from the point where it is cut off by the quarry to the place where the Wincobank road crosses it. Its line can be distinctly seen from the Midland Railway between Brightside and Wincobank.

Page 56. Bailey Hill at Bradfield. Mr. Addy, who has given a partial plan of this earthwork, has omitted to notice that traces of the bank and ditch remain on the E. side as well as on the S. The absolute conformity of this earthwork to the type of those at Mexborough, Loughton, and Tickhill is not a conjecture, but a fact, which anyone can verify by observation.

Page 137, lines 2 and 3, *dele* "the Ayenbite of Inwit" and read "the *Prick of Conscience* has been edited by Mr. Morris for the Philological Society."

Page 218, line 18. Strictly speaking, the central pillars only rest on Transition-Norman bases.

Page 223, line 15, *dele* 13th century.

Page 254, line 8. This is accounted for, if the church, as Mr. Irvine says, was recased in the 15th century. Mr. Irvine considers the piscina in the chancel Dec., but the sedilia E.E. Derbyshire Archaeological Society's Journal, IV, 89.

Ib., line 9. The chancel of Hope Church was rebuilt in 1881.

Ib., line 18. For "a pair of pincers" read "a hunting horn." These fine slabs were found under the walls of the older chancel. *Derb. Arch. Journ.*, IV., 92.

A KEY TO ENGLISH ANTIQUITIES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE SHEFFIELD AND ROTHERHAM DISTRICT.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

This district a border district—The kingdom of Elmete—Doncaster—Harold, Edwin, and Waltheof—The great Norman landholders—Sheffield—Sherwood Forest—Thomas of Rotherham—Rotherham College—Mary Queen of Scots—Sheffield Manor—Bess of Hardwick.

IT is no part of the plan of this book to give a history of the part of Yorkshire with which it is concerned. The district has been chosen simply with a view to the convenience of the inhabitants of Sheffield and Rotherham, and has no historical unity, except that it is, and always has been, emphatically a *border* district. At the time of the Roman invasion of Britain, the district which we now call Yorkshire was occupied by the Keltic tribe of the Brigantes, whose dominion appears to have formed a kingdom separate from both its northern and southern neighbours. And after the conquest of Britain by our English forefathers, the tract of country which forms the subject of this book lay partly in the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, and partly in Mercia. There can be little doubt that long after the establishment of the Anglian kingdom of Deira or Yorkshire (which eventually formed

the southern half of the kingdom of Northumbria) a considerable part of the district which we are about to examine lay within the borders of the Welsh kingdom of Elmete, which did not come under English rule till its conquest by Edwin, King of Northumbria, in the middle of the 7th century. The exact limits of Elmete are not known, but it was a territory of 600 hides, and its extent is vaguely indicated by the names Leeds in Elmete, Barwick-in-Elmete, Sherburn in Elmete, and South Kirby in Elmete.* The border line between Northumbria and Mercia varied with the varying fortunes of those two kingdoms. Ecclesiastical divisions gave fixity to what afterwards became county boundaries; and thus the modern line between Yorkshire and Derbyshire marks the boundary between the kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia at the period when the Northumbrian see of York, and the Mercian see of Lichfield were delimited.†

But whether to the north or the south of this boundary, the inhabitants were of the same race, as Mercia and Northumbria were both colonized by the Anglian wing of the great English immigration. And this unity of race appears to have been little affected by the Danish settlements of the ninth century, which have left so deep a mark on other parts of Yorkshire. The Danish place-names in *by*, so common in Yorkshire and Leicestershire,

* See Appendix, Note A.

† Kemble, in his *Saxons in England*, was the first to point out that the early English dioceses were co-terminous with the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The diocese of Lichfield, until Henry VIII created the see of Chester, included Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and that part of Lancashire which lay south of the Ribble.

are only found on the extreme eastern edge of our district, and there but seldom. Perhaps we may ascribe to this absence of the Danish element the marked difference which distinguishes the inhabitants of Sheffield and Rotherham from those of the other large towns of the West Riding. Their characteristics are those of the Midlands of England, rather than those of Yorkshire proper.*

The oldest town in the district is undoubtedly Doncaster. It was a Roman station, and from its Roman name of Danum came the Anglian Donceastre, which shows that remains of the Roman fortifications were in existence when the Saxons (or rather Anglians) took possession. A few coins, some pottery, and an altar which is now in the museum at York are all the remains of Roman civilization which have been found here. The Roman road from Lincoln to York passed through Doncaster, and the present road from Doncaster to Castleford coincides with it for about a mile; it separates from it at the first toll-bar, and according to Hunter† and the ordnance-map it may be traced, with a few intermissions, all the way to Castleford, on the left of the new road. It is a heap of gravel and loose stones.‡

* There are however several Danish names, such as Sweyn, Siward, Ketel, Acun (=Hakon), mentioned in Domesday as those of landed proprietors in this district.

† Deanery of Doncaster, I. vi.

‡ All the authorities say that this is a Roman road: but I must confess that I have doubts whether it is a road at all, judging from the portion I have seen myself. It looks much more like a boundary earthwork. This does not traverse the fact that one of the great northern roads of the Romans, which the Anglo-Saxons called the Ermin Street, ran through Doncaster to Castleford and York.

Bede states that Edwin, king of Northumbria had a royal residence at Campodunum, and as the Saxon version translates this *Donafeld*, it has been supposed with much probability that Doncaster was the place alluded to, and that it was here that the missionary Paulinus built one of the first Christian churches among the Anglians. Other places, however, claim this honour. Doncaster and Dadesley (now Tickhill) are the only places in our district mentioned in Domesday Book as having *burgenses* or citizens. In mediæval times Doncaster was a flourishing home of monasticism, and the fact that it contained no less than five religious houses shows how much more important a town it was in the middle ages than Sheffield or Rotherham, where no such establishments existed.* The town appears never to have been walled, except with an earthwork, some traces of which remained in 1744. The gates were still standing in Leland's time (1544). "That on the west side is a pretty tower of stone," he says, "but St. Mary's gate is the fairest." He mentions that the whole town of Doncaster was built of wood; this may explain why its old buildings have so entirely perished. The old church, which was celebrated for its lofty Perpendicular tower, was burnt down in 1823; the new one was built by Sir Gilbert Scott, and has the highest tower of any parish church in England, except Boston in Lincolnshire. No town so ancient as Doncaster has fewer relics of the past to show. We shall allude in a later chapter to its monastic establishments.

At the time of the Norman conquest three of the most interesting persons in Anglo-Saxon history held lands in

* Except the hospital of St. Leonard, at Sheffield.

the Yorkshire part of the district that we are about to describe, which then formed part of the earldom of Northumbria. King Harold himself, son of Earl Godwin, held Conisborough, a place whose name indicates that it was once a king's stronghold. Edwin, Earl of Mercia, who was afterwards betrothed to the Conqueror's daughter, but who lost his life in an unlucky rebellion, held Laughton-in-le-Morthen, and had a hall there. Earl Waltheof, the last of the Anglo-Saxon nobles, who afterwards perished on the scaffold, was the owner of Hallam, and had a hall there, the site of which is absolutely unknown. These facts are recorded in Domesday book, which also tells us that almost all the villages whose names we are familiar with now in the district round Sheffield and Rotherham were in existence before the Norman conquest, and were as busy in ploughing and reaping as they are now. As a specimen of the kind of information which we get from Domesday book, we give its brief account of Rotherham :

“In Rodreham, Acun had one manor of five carucates to be taxed, where there may be three ploughs. Nigel has there in the demesne one plough, and eight villeins and three bordars having one plough and a half, and one mill of ten shillings. A church and a priest. Meadow four acres. Wood pasture seven acres. The whole ten quaren-teins in length, and five and a half in breadth. Value in King Edward's time, four pounds ; at present, thirty shillings.”*

* For the elucidation of the terms used in Domesday, and the early land system of England, see Ellis' "Introduction to Domesday Book"; See-bohm's "English Village Community"; and Vinogradoff's "Villeinage in England."

The estates of the Saxon earl Waltheof passed into Norman hands after his execution, as those of the other Saxon landholders in the district had done before. The Lovetots held Sheffield until they were succeeded by the Furnivals. Roger de Busli, or Bonilli, established himself at Tickhill; he was one of the most richly endowed of all the followers of the Conqueror, and appears to have been the most powerful landholder in the district;* for though the king's half-brother, the earl of Mortain, held Rotherham, he granted it out to Nigel Fossard, the Nigel of Domesday book; and from him it passed to the family of the De Vescis. The celebrated earl William de Warenne held Conisborough. All these great landholders however are to us mere names, for little or nothing is known about them, with the exception of William de Warenne. The point about which we have most evidence is their religious zeal. The Lovetots founded Worksop Abbey. Roger de Busli richly endowed the priory of Blythe. His son, in conjunction with another Norman lord, founded Roche Abbey. A De Vesci, in the reign of Henry III, gave all his lands in Rotherham to the Cistercian convent of Rufford.†

In the reign of Henry III, Thomas de Furnival received royal permission to build a *stone* castle at Sheffield, from which it would appear that the previous castle (of which there is a notice in the reign of Henry II) had been of

* See Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," I, 223. Strictly speaking, Roger de Busli preceded the Lovetots at Sheffield, which he held of the Countess Judith, widow of Waltheof; but the Lovetots are found there early in Henry I's reign.

† Guest's "History of Rotherham," p. 25.

wood, or it may have consisted chiefly of earthworks, with a wooden house. The new castle stood on what is now called Castle Hill, and occupied the whole space between the Waingate, Dixon Lane, and the two rivers Sheaf and Don.* It was described in Charles I's time as being "strongly fortified, with a broad trench 18 feet deep, and water in it, a strong breast-work pallisadoed, and a wall round, 2 yards thick." After it had been taken by Crawford in 1644, it was ordered by the Commonwealth to be "sleighted" or ruined. Not a trace of it remains above ground.

The greater part of the district, no doubt, was covered with forest in both Anglo-Saxon and Norman times, and joined the great woodlands of Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire. Here some of the most ancient English poetry places the haunts of Robin Hood.† Loxley Chase, near Bradfield, has been claimed to be the Loxley of the old ballads. A tomb in Hathersage churchyard pretends to be the tomb of Little John; and a bow which tradition declares to have been Robin Hood's once hung in Hathersage church, and is now preserved in Cannon Hall, near Barnsley. So that the district of which we are treating is not without its native romance, as well as the imported glamour which Sir Walter Scott has thrown around Conisborough.

The woods of Wharnccliffe Chase still preserve a good deal of what must have been the primitive aspect of the

* Hunter's "History of Hallamshire," p. 183.

† See Appendix, Note B

whole country. On the highest point of the rocks overlooking the valley of the Don, one Sir Thomas Wortley, in 1510, built a lodge in the midst of the woods "for his plesor to her the hartes bel," according to an ancient inscription cut in the rock, and now illegible,* which once asked prayers for his soul.

The principal trade of Sheffield dates from a very early period. The site of some ancient bloomeries once worked by the monks of Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, was to be seen some years ago between Grange and the Blackburn stream near Rotherham, marked by some heaps of scoriae.† Chaucer speaks of the Sheffield *thyrstel*; and Leland, writing in Henry VIII's reign, says that "in Rotherham be veri good smithes for all cutting tooles;" and "a mile from Rotherham be veri good pittes of cole." The whole district in mediæval times abounded with knife-smiths, scythe-smiths, and arrow-smiths.‡ George, earl of Shrewsbury, in Elizabeth's reign, sent a present of Sheffield knives to Lord Burleigh, calling them "such poor things as his poore country afforded with fame throughout the realme."

The greatest man whom the district has produced is undoubtedly Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York in the reign of Edward IV, and though biography does not

* Hunter, "History of Sheffield," p. 2. A local legend accuses this Sir Thomas of having destroyed a village to clear his hunting-ground between Wharfedale and Penistone, in punishment for which deed he eventually went mad, and "belled" like a stag.

† Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," II, 27.

‡ Addy, The Sheffield Thwitel, in "Yorks. Archæol. Journal," Vol. VIII.

|| Hunter's "Hallamshire," p. 59.

enter into the plan of this book, he deserves more than a passing mention here, so closely is he connected with the most important of the antiquities of Rotherham, namely its church. Thomas was born in Rotherham in 1423, in the very part of the town where he afterwards planted his college. Edward IV made him bishop of Rochester and Lincoln successively, and finally Archbishop of York, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Lord High Chancellor of England. He fell from his high political offices through his loyalty to Edward's family, and was committed to the Tower by Richard III. At Henry VII's accession he was released, but the Lancastrian king never took the Yorkist archbishop into his favour, and he spent the rest of his life in the comparative retirement of his own diocese. Archbishop Thomas was one of the best representatives of of the Renascence of the 15th century; he was as full of zeal for true religion as of desire for the spread of learning. In the college which he founded at Rotherham he had the double end in view of promoting both religious reformation and education. The five chantry priests who were attached to Rotherham church had become a cause of scandal on account of the irregularity of their lives. The archbishop ordained that they should henceforth live in college, and employ themselves in teaching in the three schools which he provided, in listening to the lectures of the provost, and in studying in the library. The provost, who was set at the head of the college, was to preach the word of God in Rotherham and the other places in the diocese thereunto adjoining. He was to be assisted by two Fellows, one of whom was to teach grammar (*i.e.* Latin), poetry, and rhetoric, the other music, especially singing.

The archbishop himself tells us his reason for appointing this music-fellowship: "many parishioners" he says, "belong to the church, and there resort to it many rough mountain men, who may be induced to love Christianity more, and to visit the church more frequently, if the services are skilfully performed."* Six poor boys were to receive their education and maintenance gratis in the college.

In his will, the Archbishop provided for a further development of his scheme, by instituting a third Fellow, who was to teach writing and arithmetic to boys intended for handicrafts or trades, "forasmuch as among the people of the neighbourhood there are many who are exceedingly sharp-witted." The schoolmasters were bound to teach all children resorting to the school, without payment. Thomas made a splendid provision for his college, consisting of lands in various parts of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Notts.† Leland describes the college in Henry VIII's time as "a very fair college, sumptuously builded of brike." The Chantry Certificates speak of "the mansion house of the sayd college, wyth a garden and an orchard wythyn the claustrure of the same, inuerounde wyth a brike walle, conteyning by estimacioun two acres, and one house nere unto the sayd college, wherein the three scoles be kept and taught."‡

* Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," II, p. 8.

† They are enumerated in the Chantry Certificates, pub. by the Surtees Society.

‡ Chantry Certificates, Surtees Soc. Vol. I, p. 251. The "three free schools" are simply the three branches taught by the three Fellows.

This splendid foundation was ruined by the greed of the party who came into power during the minority of Edward VI, and who under the pretence of reformation obtained for the Crown a continuation of the powers which had been granted to Henry VIII personally in the last year of his reign, for the "alteration" of chantries, colleges, and guilds. It was the misfortune of the English Reformation that it came before public opinion was sufficiently ripe or powerful to defend the public interests, and thus not only were ecclesiastical revenues which might have been used for education squandered on greedy courtiers, but educational endowments themselves were plundered to meet political needs. Some faint idea of the claims of education was in the air, for the Commissioners who carried out the Act I Edward VI had discretionary power to continue such grammar-schools supported by the revenues of chantries as they thought necessary; and the school at Rotherham was one of those which they decided to continue. But the second ill-advised expedition of the Protector Somerset into Scotland during the following year led to a further drain on the public money, and little if any was left to education from the funds of the chantries. Hunter says that the possessions of Rotherham College were seized and granted out in parcels to different persons.* One Robert Swift, a successful mercer of Rotherham, and his son William, were the principal receivers of the stolen property.† The building itself, so altered as to be quite

* Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," I, 9.

† Guest, "History of Rotherham," p. 144. Guest confuses him with his grandson, Sir Robert Swift.

unrecognizable, has now become an inn, and the Rotherham court-house is built upon a portion of the college site. College Street takes its name from the stolen glory of Rotherham.*

There are two other personalities who have left so ineradicable a mark on this district that we must briefly allude to them. Mary, Queen of Scots and Bess of Hardwick. The captivity of that bewitching queen, whose spell is so strong even in death that men dispute about her now with almost the same vivacity that they did in the 16th century, was passed chiefly at Sheffield Castle or at one or other of the seats of George Talbot, sixth earl of Shrewsbury,† who was her gaoler for fifteen years. His second wife and assistant gaoler was the celebrated “Bess of Hardwick,” daughter of a plain country gentleman of that name, but already risen high in the world through three successive marriages. Her second husband had been a Cavendish, who settled at Chatsworth, and began the building of a house there; it was thus that Chatsworth became one of the prison-houses of the Scottish queen.‡ Mary’s confinement was lenient at first, and she was allowed to ride out on horseback, if properly attended. But after the discovery of her correspondence with the

* See Appendix. Note C.

† The Talbots succeeded by marriage to the estates of the Furnivals. The Talbot of Henry VIII’s time got possession at the Dissolution of the Abbey of Rufford, with all its lands and rights. This made him lord of the manor of Rotherham, and patron of the church.

‡ Mary’s first prison under Shrewsbury’s care was Turbury Castle, in 1569. From Turbury she was removed to Wingfield Manor, and then to Chatsworth.

Duke of Norfolk, she was much more strictly guarded. She was removed to Sheffield Castle in 1570, and there she was only allowed to walk out upon the leads or in the court-yard, and either the earl or the countess had always to be present at these airings. In 1572 she was removed to Sheffield Manor, that her rooms might be cleaned. It is believed by those who have most carefully investigated the matter that the small building now shewn as Queen Mary's Lodge in Sheffield Manor was the prison expressly built by the Earl of Shrewsbury for his royal charge. Two small rooms, one over the other, are reached by a small staircase from a guard-room below, and have a further staircase leading to the roof. The upper room has a beautiful plaster ceiling, and a fireplace decorated with pargetting work, bearing the arms of the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. Round the cornice of both the rooms run hooks for tapestry.

Here then we may imagine the unhappy captive queen spending many of her dreary days, weaving her webs of skilful but vain plotting, or busying her fingers in the beautiful embroidery of which so much is still preserved at Chatsworth and Hardwick Hall, and other places. The Manor House,* which rose on the opposite side of the courtyard to her prison, and which is now a shattered ruin, was itself full of remembrances of departed greatness. Here Cardinal Wolsey, one of the greatest ministers that England ever had, spent eighteen bitter days on his last journey to Leicester Abbey, where he died three days after leaving Sheffield. The fallen minister was often seen

* Sheffield Manor House was built early in the reign of Henry VIII.

pacing up and down the long gallery of the Manor House, in dejection so deep that no kindness of his host could overcome it. It was a younger and more vigorous victim of fate that Sheffield Manor held within its walls in the person of Mary. For fifteen years, from 1569 to 1584, she battled for life and freedom in her prison-houses in Sheffield and the neighbourhood. It is however no part of our plan to follow her history there, or her wanderings to Buxton, Chatsworth, and Worksop in search of health; and we will refer the reader to an able work by a citizen of Sheffield in which the record of her captivity in this neighbourhood is fully written.*

Bess of Hardwick, the Countess of Shrewsbury who assisted in the custody of Mary, was a hard selfish woman of no ordinary strength of character, who pursued one object through life with steady persistency, the aggrandisement of herself and her offspring. For a long time she stood high in Elizabeth's favour, but she overreached herself at last by promoting a marriage between her youngest daughter and Charles Stuart, younger brother of Henry Darnley, a marriage which would have given her descendants a claim to the crown. This brought upon her the displeasure of Elizabeth. She wore out her husband's affection by her imperious temper, and perpetual quarrels with her embittered the latter days of his life.† She was a great builder, and Hardwick Hall, Bolsover Castle, and Chatsworth, were completely rebuilt by her.

* "Mary, Queen of Scots in Captivity, 1569-1584," by J. D. Leader.

† See Hunter's "History of Sheffield," p. 78, where some very characteristic letters which passed between her and her husband are given. See also Appendix, Note D.

Sheffield and Rotherham both stood for the parliamentary cause in Charles I's reign, and both were taken by the Royalists, and afterwards retaken by the Parliamentarians. The adventures of the Puritan Vicar of Rotherham, John Shaw, form an interesting chapter in Hunter's *History of Sheffield*. But we must not give further space to personal reminiscences, as the business of this book is with the material remains which are still to be seen near Sheffield and Rotherham, and to these we must now address ourselves.

CHAPTER II.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS : LONG AND ROUND BARROWS,
AND RUDE STONE MONUMENTS.

The Derbyshire Moors—Long Barrows—The Chambered Barrows—The Dinnington and Mar Barrows—Grave Goods—Unchambered Yorkshire Barrows—Round Barrows—Metal Implements—Pottery—Facts and Conjectures—Stone and Bronze Age Civilization—Sheffield Museum—Stone Monuments—Arbor Low—Eyam and other circles.

THE breezy moors of Derbyshire and the Yorkshire borderland are delightful enough in themselves to be a constant attraction to the inhabitants of Sheffield and Rotherham. But to the antiquary they are a happy hunting-ground indeed, for they are rich in those monuments of the mysterious past, the secret of which has only partially been unravelled. You cannot walk far on these heathery uplands without coming upon the burial places of the unknown races who dwelt in Britain before the dawn of history. If you are careless, you may easily pass many a stone circle or rifled barrow* without seeing it, so overgrown are they with heather; but a glance at the Ordnance Map, where the names of antiquities are printed in Old English type, will show how thickly these barrows

* Barrow, from A. S. *beorh*, a hill, a grave-mound. Skeat's "Etymological Dictionary."

or *lows* bestud the hills of Derbyshire and North Staffordshire. There was once such a barrow near Sheffield, at Ringing Low, as the name shows, for *low* is an Anglo-Saxon word for a tumulus. An ancient document, the "Perambulations of the Manor of Sheffield,"* tells us that in 1574 there was "a great heape of stones called Ringing Lawe, from which one Thomas Lee had taken and carted away a great sort of stones." Would that we could get hold of Thomas Lee, and ask him what else he found under that heap of stones, whether there were any bones or pottery! Numbers of barrows have in this way been improved off the face of the earth; and it seems probable that instead of being only reared on wild and lonely moors, the chief places where we find them now, they were once to be found all over the country, and have been gradually destroyed by the progress of cultivation.†

There are two chief classes of barrows in Britain, the long and the round. The long barrows are assumed to be the oldest, because they undoubtedly belong to the Stone Age, the period when man used tools and weapons only of stone or bone. No metal has ever been found in any primary interment in a long barrow.‡ Another peculiarity of the long barrows is that when they have been carefully investigated they have proved to be ossuaries or bone-houses rather than graves. They are generally found to

* Quoted in Hunter's "Hallamshire," p. 18.

† See Appendix, Note E.

‡ Secondary interments of later periods, even as late as Anglo-Saxon times, are very frequently found in both long and round barrows; and when they are mixed up together by ignorant explorers, as has very often happened, they confuse the data of archæology.

contain a number of skeletons lying pell-mell together, and often in such positions as to prove that the flesh had left the bones before the final burial was made. This custom is known to have existed among some of the Indians of both North and South America.* The third distinguishing feature of the long barrows is that they are frequently *chambered* barrows. This is not the case with all of them; those of Yorkshire, as far as they have been yet explored, are without chambers, and very few of the long barrows of Derbyshire have been found to possess them. The most complete development of the chambered barrow is to be found in the extreme North of Scotland, and in Gloucestershire.† Certain long barrows there have their ends curiously extended in the outline of horns; from the east end, a passage built of large stones leads into a well-built chamber, all of dry walling, which is generally divided into three parts, the central one being covered with a kind of dome, formed by the projection of stone over stone. In these cases the original barrow has been built up with one or more retaining walls, so that it is not a mere heap of stones, but belongs to that class of tombs which in Egypt are called *mastabas*. It is a strange thing that our country possesses monuments so remarkable as these, but yet takes so little interest in them.

There are many long barrows in Derbyshire, and one or two of them appear to be of the chambered type, such as Ringham Low, near Moneyash; Stoney Low, on Brassing-

* Greenwell, "British Barrows," p. 17.

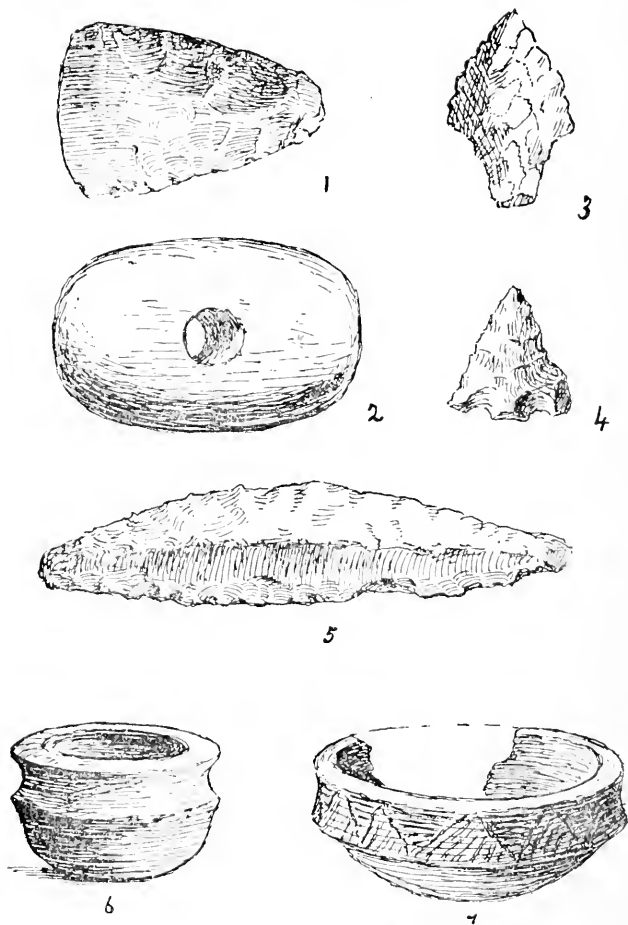
† See Anderson, "Scotland in Pagan Times," Stone age, ch. IV. Greenwell, "British Barrows," pp. 513-541.

ton Moor; and Five Wells Hill, near Taddington.* There was once a long barrow at Dinnington near Rotherham; it was levelled in 1862, and a large number of skeletons of both sexes and all ages was found inside; they were not arranged in any regular order, and no weapons or ornaments were found with them.† The skulls are now in the Oxford museum; they are of the long-headed type which is usually found in the long barrows.

The long barrows yield only a very scanty supply of grave goods. Weapons and implements are rare, and when found are always of stone or bone; hammer-heads, flint arrow-heads, flint knives, flint scrapers, and bone needles, are among the most common finds. The arrow

* See Bateman's "Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire," and his "Ten Years' Diggings." Unfortunately he does not tell us whether the barrows he explored were long or round. There is a long barrow at Perry Foot, not far from the Castleton and Buxton Road, which appears to have been only partially explored. Pennington, "Barrows and Bone Caves of Derbyshire."

† Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society of London, Vol. I, p. 132. Another long barrow was destroyed in 1829, at Hangman Stone near Marr, which from the description preserved in Hunter ("Deanery of Doncaster," II, 489) seems to have corresponded in a remarkable way to the cremation long barrows opened by Canon Greenwell on the Yorkshire wolds. There was a floor of limestone, covered with wood and vegetable material, on which the bodies had been laid, and more stone placed above. The whole was then fused into a solid mass. The bones found were "lying promiscuously," though belonging to several skeletons. Several urns of coarse clay were found, rudely ornamented with dots and lines; one contained small bones. These suggest secondary burials of the bronze age. But one urn had a deep overhanging rim turned back. A piece of iron was found which may have belonged to some still later burial.



STONE AGE IMPLEMENTS AND POTTERY.

- 1.—Stone axe. 2.—Hammer-head. 3.—Leaf-shaped flint arrow-head.
 4.—Barbed flint arrow-head. 5.—Flint knife. 6-7.—Bowls found in
 long barrows.

Partly from Anderson's "Scotland in Pagan Times."

heads are not barbed,* but leaf-shaped (fig. 3). Pottery is even more rare than implements, so rare as to render doubtful any general deductions as to its difference from that of barrows of the Bronze Age. Yet a peculiar type of urn, round-bottomed, dark coloured, and thick-lipped, (fig. 6), has been found in Stone Age barrows as far apart as Caithness,† Argyllshire,§ Yorkshire,‡ Gloucestershire, and Sussex.††

The long barrows all over Britain resemble one another in form; they are generally, though not invariably, laid approximately east and west, and are higher and broader at the east end than the west. The east end, as a rule, contains the interments. These barrows are sometimes 180 or even 240 feet long, but their height does not exceed 10 or 12 feet. When so small a part of the barrow was used for burial, one wonders at its needless length. Was it intended for future funeral chambers, to be excavated in it when the first were filled? or did the makers seek to honour the dead by building their monuments long, because they were unable to build them high?

A number of the unchambered long barrows of Yorkshire have been carefully examined by Canon Greenwell, and

* A barbed arrow-head was found in the Stone Age cairn of Unstan in Orkney. This was a round cairn. Anderson's "Scotland in Pagan Times," Stone Age, p. 298. On the other hand, leaf-shaped arrows are not unfrequently found in round barrows.

† "Scotland in Pagan Times," p. 252. § *Ib.* p. 271.

‡ "Journal of Anthropological Institute," Vol. XI: Greenwell's "British Barrows," Willerby, Market Weighton, and Eyford.

†† "Journal of Anthropol. Inst." Vol. V. Cissbury Camp.

have been found to be, in effect, *kilns*, in which a number of bones, and in some cases a few complete bodies as well, were placed at one time, with wood and stone carefully arranged round them; the barrow was then heaped up above them. How the fire was kindled has not yet been found out, but examination of the barrows shows that it frequently did not catch properly along the whole line of burial, and that consequently some bones were only imperfectly burnt, and some not at all. The chambered long barrows of Gloucester and Wilts seldom show any traces of burning. It is quite possible that the interments here were made at different times, and indeed the existence of the passage leading to the sepulchral chamber from the outside seems to render the theory of successive interments very probable in these cases. But with the unchambered long barrows of the south-west of England, containing unburnt bones, the case is otherwise, as the bones have plainly never been disturbed since they were first laid on the surface of the ground.*

There are a few chambered *round* barrows in Scotland, which appear by their contents to belong to the Stone Age.† But in the Bronze Age round barrows were universal. They are far more numerous in England than the long barrows. They are sometimes of heaped-up earth, sometimes of loose stones; sometimes of imposing size, sometimes so small as hardly to be noticed.‡ The grave where the body was laid is generally dug in the original

* Greenwell, "British Barrows," p. 547.

† See Anderson, "Scotland in Pagan Times," ch. V.

‡ Round barrows are very numerous on the Derbyshire moors. There is a group of them on the hill top above Manners Wood, near Bakewell.

surface of the ground. Frequently (though not universally) the body is placed in a *cist*, a sort of rude box, composed of six or more flags set on end, with a covering of one or more.* As in the Stone Age, so in the Bronze Age, the bodies were sometimes burnt and sometimes unburnt.† When burnt, the ashes were sometimes placed in a rude urn; this however was by no means invariably the case, and often the ashes were merely laid in a heap on the ground. When the body was buried unburnt, it was almost invariably laid on its side in a contracted position, the knees being doubled up till they nearly touched the chin.‡ A whole barrow has often been found containing only a single burial, which has sometimes been that of a woman or a child.

It is only in the round barrows that metal is found, and bronze appears to have been the first metal known in Britain. But though the round barrows were raised in the period which is known as the Bronze Age, some of them appear to have been constructed when bronze was, to say the least, very rare in Britain. Some of these barrows contain bronze axes which have evidently been copied from the simple forms of the Stone Age axes.§

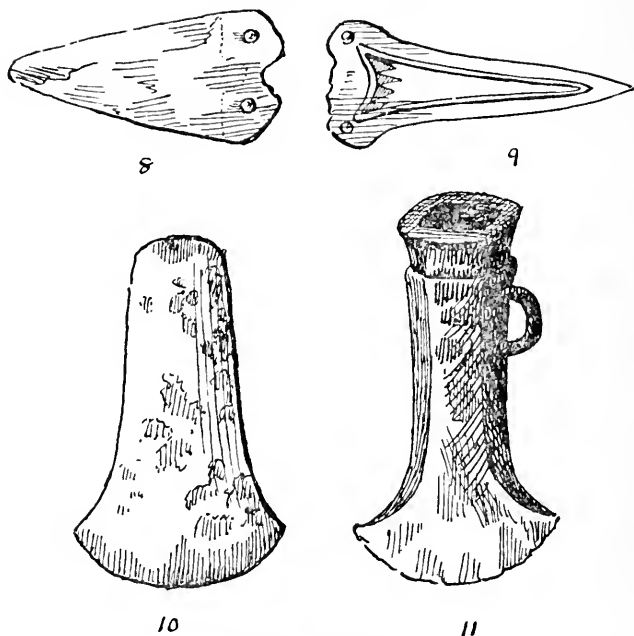
There are several not far from the circle called the Nine Ladies on Stanton Moor, in one of which an urn of coarse clay, enclosing a smaller vessel, human bones, and some blue glass beads, were found by Major Rooke.

* There are no cists in the barrows on the York Wolds, where stone slabs are not common. Greenwell, "British Barrows."

† See Appendix, Note B.

‡ This is also the case in the long barrows, whenever the bodies have been buried whole.

§ Greenwell, "British Barrows."



BRONZE AGE WEAPONS.

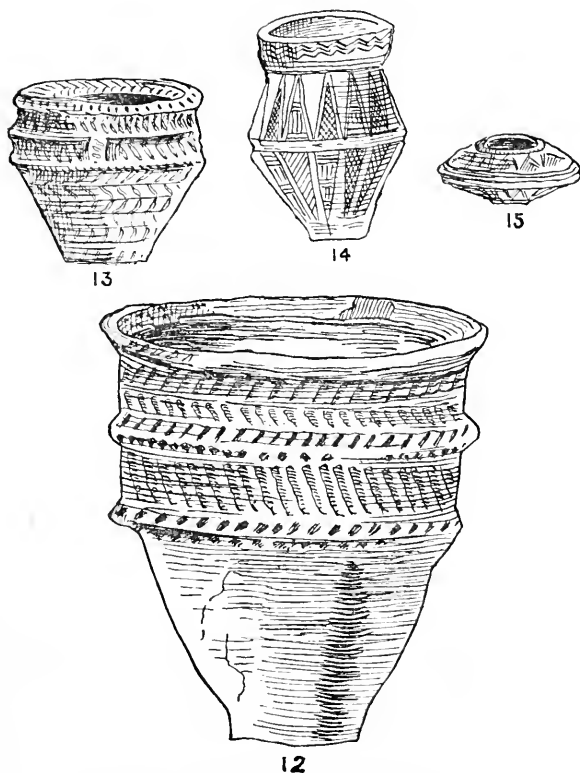
8-9.—Bronze daggers. 10.—Bronze axe, older type.

11.—Ditto, later type.

From Wright's "Celt, Roman and Saxon,"

(fig. 10). But other round barrows, probably later in date, contain bronze axes with phlanges, and with loops for attaching the blade to the handle (fig. 11); and as the clay moulds have also been found, it is plain that these axes were made in Britain. Axes, knives, daggers, and awls are the chief bronze instruments found in the round barrows; but a very much larger assortment of bronze weapons has been found in hoards, such as swords,

spear-heads, and shields of elaborate workmanship. Gold is the only other metal which is found in barrows of the Bronze Age; it has occurred in some few instances in Britain.*



SEPULCHRAL POTTERY OF THE BRONZE AGE.

From Greenwell's "British Barrows."

* Ib. p. 55.

The pottery of the Bronze Age barrows is much more extensive than that of the long barrows. The vases found are generally of the following types: (1)—cinerary urns, (fig. 12), thick, rudely baked urns, which contained the burnt bones; (2)—shorter urns, of a bulgy character (fig. 13), to which the name food-vessel was given by the older antiquaries, and which probably did contain food, to feed the soul of the departed on its long journey; (3)—thinner and rather better made vases (fig. 14) called drinking cups by the older antiquaries, but which are too porous to have held liquid; they appear to contain the remains of animal matter; (4)—the so-called incense-cups (fig. 15) which are small cups, sometimes of open work, and nearly always with holes drilled in them; the purport of these is quite unknown.* They are only found with burnt bones.

Now who were the races who built these barrows? The scientific study of their remains has been so recent, and is still so imperfect, that perhaps we are scarcely yet in a position to give a positive answer to this question. We must carefully distinguish between the facts which have been discovered and the conjectures which have been made.

The *facts* are these: We find in the long barrows the remains of a people of short stature and small bones, with skulls of the long-headed or dolico-cephalic type, with

* Mr. Albert Way suggested that they were vessels for carrying the sacred fire to the funeral pyre, and Canon Greenwell accepts this theory. Canon Greenwell gives some interesting reasons for believing that the pottery above described was expressly made for sepulchral use. "British Barrows," p. 106.

narrow faces, oval brows, and receding chins. No metal objects have ever been found buried with their remains. In the round barrows on the other hand, we find the bones of men at least 4 inches taller, strongly made, with round skulls (brachy-cephalic), beetling brows, high cheek bones, and prognathous faces, the jaws and chin projecting forward. The two sets of skulls, the long and the round, "are well nigh as distinct and as sharply contrasted as any other sets of skulls which it is possible to put alongside each other from either ancient or modern times."* But while the long barrows only yield long skulls, the round barrows contain long skulls as well as round, in some districts in almost equal numbers; and a middle type of skull (mesati-cephalic) is also found in the round barrows.

The *conjectures* of most recent date by which these facts are explained are these: The long-headed man of the long barrows belongs to a race akin to the Iberians and Basques, a race which was once distributed all over the west of Europe.† The Silurians of South Wales, of whose small stature and swarthy faces Tacitus speaks, belonged to the same race, and the type still survives in South Wales, and even in Wiltshire. This race was invaded and conquered by the large-limbed, fair-haired Kelts, who not long after their conquest of Britain became acquainted with bronze. They did not however destroy the long-headed people, but inter-married with them, and hence a

* Rolleston, in Greenwell's "British Barrows," p. 645.

† See Boyd Dawkins, "Early Man in Britain," p. 330; Greenwell's "British Barrows," p. 128, &c.

type of skull intermediate between the long and the round was produced. But the long-headed people being the most numerous, their type of head eventually prevailed; and this accounts for the fact that the modern Kelt is long-headed.

So far the conjectures; of which we may say that those of their supporters who know the most of the subject are the most modest in putting them forward. There are other antiquaries who maintain that we have not enough data at present to come to positive conclusions.* The identification of the Stone Age people of the long barrows with the Basques and Iberians seems to have a good deal to say for it. On the other hand the identification of the round-headed bronze-using men of the round barrows with the Kelts has this fact against it, that the system of decoration employed on the pottery and weapons of the Bronze Age is entirely one of straight lines, while the system of decoration which we know to be early Keltic is one of curved lines.

If we accept the theory that the Neolithic or Stone Age people became amicably fused with the Roundheads of the Bronze Age, we can the better understand the continuity of their civilization, and even of their customs, which is shown by the barrows. The long barrows generally have round barrows for their immediate neighbours, showing that the Bronze people occupied the same sites as their predecessors. An explorer of the Derbyshire barrows says "The only difference I have observed between stone users and bronze users has been an improvement in old arts

* See Appendix, Note G.

not the introduction of new ones. There is an improvement in pottery, and the workers in stone are able to drill holes in hammers to put the haft in. - - - Both practised the same two kinds of burial; both were acquainted with the art of polishing stone celts; both adorned themselves with jet and amber; both made coarse pottery, rudely ornamented with the same designs, and both hunted and fed upon the same animals.”* Canon Greenwell’s explorations in Yorkshire have brought out the curious fact that the custom of delaying the final burial of the skeleton till the flesh had left the bones, which was so prevalent in the Stone Age, was practised by some of the round-headed people of the round barrows.

The Sheffield Museum contains a most valuable collection of antiquities of the Stone and Bronze Ages, formed by the late Mr. Bateman during his Derbyshire diggings. No attempt has yet been made to classify these antiquities according to the period to which they belong, and no doubt the task would be difficult, as the information supplied by Mr. Bateman himself is so very imperfect.† The skulls are not so arranged as to separate the dolico-cephalic from the brachy-cephalic specimens, but it is possible to pick out some of the long-headed ones by observation. In the table-cases all the varieties of tools and weapons used in the Stone and Bronze Ages are to be seen, as well as the ornaments of bone, jet, and even gold, which were worn in those early times.

* Pennington’s “Barrows and Bone Caves of Derbyshire.”

† In his first book “Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire” he never tells us whether the barrows which he opened were long or round; in his second book “Ten Years’ Diggings,” he has partially repaired this omission.

We must not fail to notice the deep significance of these buried treasures. The food vessels, as well as the bones of domestic animals which are often found buried with or near the dead without vessels, point without doubt to provision for the soul of the departed. Primitive man had a spark of that immortal hope which is the birth-right of our race; he refused to believe in death, even when the apparent facts of it were staring him in the face. And the frequency with which those ancient people buried with their dead the implements and ornaments which must have been so difficult to procure, point to feelings of love and respect and self-sacrifice which were as real then as now. These things are the touches of humanity which make the whole world kin.*

The round barrows are not the only burial places of the primeval races which have been preserved. I have yet to speak of the rude stone monuments, the *menhirs*, *dolmens*, and *cromlechs*,† which are by far the most striking class of remains which have come down to us from this remote time. About *menhirs*, or solitary standing stones, we can never be certain that they did not once form part of a circle or avenue which has been destroyed. *Dolmens* are rude structures of unhewn stones, resembling stone tables, one large block being supported on several others. They are not unlike a magnified form of the cist in which bodies of the bronze period were frequently buried. Actual cists

* See Bateman, "Ten Years' Diggings," Introduction, iii; and Anderson, "Scotland in Pagan Times," p. 96.

† These words are taken from the Breton names of these monuments, which are so common in Brittany. The word *cromlech* is sometimes mistakenly used for *dolmen*, but it properly means a stone circle.

have sometimes been found buried beneath them.* *Cromlechs*, or stone circles, consist of a varying number of stones arranged in a circle; sometimes they stand upon an embankment, sometimes on the surface of the ground.† These stone circles are often called Druidical temples, this being a favourite theory with the antiquaries of the last century. But there is not the slightest vestige of evidence, either historical or archæological, to connect these structures with the Druids. The burials of the Stone and Bronze Ages hint at ancestor worship, as far as they hint at worship at all; whereas we know from history that the Druidical system was a deification of the powers of nature. There is no doubt among antiquaries now that these stone circles are sepulchral in their origin; and burials have been found in the centre of some of them which have been associated with implements of bronze, or with urns of the Bronze Age type.‡

There are no dolméns in the district I am describing,§ and no menhirs of any importance, but there are many stone circles. The great circle at Arbor Low in Derbyshire is one of the finest in England, and though it is beyond the limits which I have set to this work, it ought to be mentioned here. It is easily reached from Sheffield, as it is about 9 miles from Bakewell Station. Arbor Lowe is a circular rampart of earth, about 18 feet high, on the top

* See Appendix, Note H.

† See Appendix, Note I.

‡ See Appendix, Note J.

§ Bateman says that there are 2 large dolmens at the top of a barrow called Minning Lowe, near Brassington, "as they now appear from the soil being removed from them." "Ten Years' Diggings," p. 82.

of which are about 30 large stones, the largest being 12 feet long.* Strange to say, they are all lying prostrate. Inside the rampart is a broad ditch; the platform which it encloses is 167 feet in diameter. There are, or were, two entrances across the ditch; one has been obliterated by a road. There are some large stones in the centre of the platform, which have probably once formed part of a central dolmen.†

This is a circle of the first magnitude, but smaller ones are to be found within our district which conform to this type. The circle on Wet Withens Moor, near Eyam, comes next in point of size; it is about 34 yards in diameter, and has 14 stones still standing, placed on a small rampart, but it has no ditch. These stones are only of small size.‡ The Nine Ladies on Stanton Moor, according to a drawing by Mr. Llewelyn Jewitt,§ is also a rampart circle with nine stones rising out of it; but when I saw it, the rampart was not to be traced through the thick growth of heather.¶ This circle has a solitary stone or *menhir* (called the King Stone) standing about 34 yards to the W. of it. An outstanding stone, to the W. or S.W. is a

* See Ferguson, "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 139, for a plan and measurements of Arbor Lowe.

† There are many stone circles, especially in Ireland, which have dolmens in the centre of them.

‡ Near this circle is a very curious cairn, which appeared to me to be formed of several small cells, whether for habitation or for burial.

§ Reproduced in Ferguson's "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 49.

¶ This circle is very difficult to find; it lies about 300 yards to the N. W. of the tower on the moor, and about half way between the tower and the next quarry is a path which leads straight to it. Ten stones, not nine, can be counted.

frequent accompaniment of stone circles. On Froggatt Edge, right above the Mason's Arms, on the E. side of the drive which runs along the top of the moor, there is a small circle with a low rampart, which has standing stones on each side of its bank,† one of them being at least 4 feet high. It has two well marked entrances, N. and S. There is a well-preserved circle on Moscar Moor, near Hordron Edge, about a mile from the Sheffield Road. It consists of nine stones, some of which are rather more than 3 feet high. It differs from the circles spoken of previously in having no rampart; the stones rise out of the ground. It is about 16 yards in diameter. There are some other circles marked on the Ordnance Map, but I have not been able to visit them.

Although for the present we must leave in abeyance the question as to what races of men built these prehistoric works, there is one conclusion which comes out with increasing clearness from modern discovery and discussion. It is that special customs are not confined to special races; but from the earliest times of which any vestige is left us waves of influence, social or religious changes, have passed over different races, even when far removed from each other. In other words, man, as long as we know anything of him, has been a progressive animal, and the *Zeitgeist* has ever been stronger than the traditions of race.

† I have seen other circles in Yorkshire constructed in this way.

CHAPTER III.

CAMPS AND EARTHWORKS.

Wincobank Camp—Castle Holmes—Stainborough Low—Blow Hall
—Carl Wark—Mam Tor—The Roman Rig—The Double
Dyke—The Bar Dyke—Local Names—Camps of Refuge—
Boundary Earthworks—Penistone Circles.

THE barrows are by no means the most striking of the prehistoric remains to be found in the neighbourhood of Sheffield and Rotherham. There are several remarkable earthworks of much more imposing appearance.

One of these is the camp on the top of Wincobank Hill. Like so many prehistoric camps, it stands in a splendid situation, with a wide view of the surrounding country, and its beacon fires would no doubt be visible over a vast extent of territory. It is oval in shape, and measures 132 yards from N.E. to S.W., and 103 yards from N.W. to S.E. This oval form of the fort furnishes a clear proof that it is not Roman, for Roman camps are always rectangular. The vallum is surrounded with a deep ditch, which had a bank on the *counterscarp*, or outside edge of the ditch, still to be seen on the S. and S.E. sides. This bank on the counterscarp frequently occurs in primeval

defences, and is a great puzzle; modern fort builders would regard it as furnishing cover for an enemy. There was formerly a double rampart on the N. side, which may still be traced; and a good spring of water existed just outside the fort, until it was drained away recently through coal-workings underneath.

In the interior of these ancient strongholds it is not uncommon to find circles of rude dry-walling, from ten to thirty feet in diameter; these were the bases of ancient wig-wams, the dwellings of the former inhabitants of the fort. There are none of these to be seen at Wincobank. What ought to be sought for here and in all other primitive camps is the ancient hearths and refuse heaps. If the fort was ever inhabited, these probably still exist, and would give us valuable information about the former inhabitants.

A similar stronghold to Wincobank is Cæsar's Camp, or Castle Holmes, as it is called in the Ordnance Map, though it appears to be better known in the neighbourhood by the former name. It is in the heart of Scholes Wood, near Rotherham, and is itself overgrown with trees, so that it is difficult to examine. It is a circular dyke, about 200 paces round, with a ditch enclosing it. There is an entrance on the N. side. A portion of the bank has been cut through by the path running through Scholes Wood, but it reappears on the other side of the path.

The large earthen circle called Stainborough Low near Wentworth Castle, though it is now disguised by a modern wall on the top and other additions, is undoubtedly

an ancient earthwork of the same kind.* There are several circles of stones and earth in Edlington Woods near Conisborough; one, which was known by the name of Blow Hall, has lately been removed by the woodman to mend the roads, and the same fate has befallen a large cairn which stood about 250 yards from it. It is impossible to say whether these circles were defensive or sepulchral, since there has been no adequate examination of them.†

There are two most interesting prehistoric camps in Derbyshire which are of a rather different type to those described above: the Carl Wark on Hathersage moor, and the entrenchments on Mam Tor near Castleton. The Carl Wark is built on a rocky headland which rises out of the moors near Burbage Bridge, on the road between Fox House and Hathersage. This headland was so well defended by nature that it was easily turned into a fortress by building a wall across the only accessible slope, a method of fort-building which has been used by primitive races all over the world. The Carl Wark is in excellent preservation, the front towards the enemy being well built of unhewn stones, without mortar, while it is banked with a broad bank of earth and stones, sloping gradually to the inside. The north and east sides of the headland thus enclosed are precipitous, but as the south side is less so, it has been defended by a hedge of large unhewn blocks

* The antiquary Dodsworth mentions it in 1628 as "an ancient fortress." The tower and walls now standing on it were built in 1730.

† The woodman found no bones in those which he has destroyed; but he told me that he found what he called a properly built hearth in one. It is deplorable that he should be allowed to destroy these antiquities.

round the edge of the platform. Through this, near the point where it joins the western rampart, there was a well defended entrance, still plainly to be seen. There are no traces of hut circles on the platform, which is strewn with huge natural boulders. Here again, if we could find the primitive hearths, we could hope for more information.

The entrenchments on Mam Tor are surprising by their vast extent. A whole army could have been contained in the circle of dyke and ditch, nearly 1200 yards in circumference, which encloses the crown of the hill. Bateman tells us that it occupies rather more than 16 acres of ground. It has a perennial spring of water at the N.E. corner, and near the S.W. side are [or were?] two barrows, one of which was opened in Bateman's time. A bronze celt and some fragments of an unbaked urn were found in it. This camp probably had a double line of dyke and ditch all round, as this is still distinctly to be seen on the Castleton side. Part of the dyke has been carried away by the landslips to which Mam Tor is subject. Flint arrow-heads have been often found along the line of the dyke.

We now come to another class of earthworks, those which extend themselves in long lines across considerable tracts of country. Our chief example of these is the so-called Roman Rig, that mysterious bank which coasts the face of the hills all the way from Sheffield to Mexborough, a distance of about 11 miles. It is a bank made of loose stones and earth, about 8 feet high in the places where it is most perfect; it had originally a ditch on the southern side, and a small bank on the counterscarp.

Both of these can still be traced in those parts of its course where it is well preserved. It runs from South-west to North-east, keeping generally just below the crest of the hills which rise on the Western or left bank of the river Don. To follow its course, we must start from Sheffield by the upper Grimesthorpe road. Near the point where the Osgathorpe road turns out of the Grimesthorpe road we may see the first traces of the dyke. Here it is gnawed away to its original core of stones, and very little of that; but follow it to the point where it descends the hill into the Grimesthorpe valley, making a sharp turn to the left, and it will be found as perfect as anywhere in its course.

On the opposite side of the valley it has been entirely cut off by a quarry; but it reappears at a point which shews that without climbing to the camp which crowns the Wincobank Hill, it ran like a terrace along the side of that hill, and followed the line of a remarkable *fault* or upheaval of the sand-stone strata, till it crossed the Blackburn valley, where the Yorkshire engine works have destroyed all trace of it. But cross the valley and it will be found again near Meadow Hall, first on the right, and then on the left hand side of the road; and an interesting walk may be taken from Sheffield to Mexborough by trying to follow the former course of this ancient earth-work. Often when all trace of dyke or ditch is gone, a footpath still preserves the memory of the former embankment, and of the right of way which it must have furnished from the time that its primeval functions ceased. At a certain point in its course, somewhere in what is

now called Lady Rockingham's wood, it sends out a branch, and henceforth runs towards Mexborough in a double line, sometimes as much as a mile apart. Its course is by no means always straight, but sometimes turns sharply at right angles, as for example near the road by "Roman Terrace" at Mexborough. A very fine piece, showing well the ditch and counterscarps, may be seen in Wentworth Park, near the Greasborough entrance. At Mexborough the local name for it is the "barmkin."

There is another embankment which probably belongs to the boundary class, the Double Dyke which runs through Edlington Wood near Conisborough, from S.E. to N.W. It is not absolutely impossible that it may be a continuation of the Roman Rig.* It is very difficult to find, and there is not much of it when found.

* Another fragment of a boundary earthwork is a strip of earthwork, about half a mile long, for the most part in good preservation, called the Bar Dyke, about 2 miles from Bradfield. It runs across a high table-land, N.W. to S.E., and appears to have ended sharply on the brow of each hill. Its ditch is to the W. and has an embanked counterscarp. On the table-land which it defends, near the place called Handsome Cross, are traces (almost obliterated except on land which is still moor) of an elliptical enclosure, ditched and banked. Within its circuit I picked up a flint scraper; but this is no evidence as to its date. There are (or were) many tumuli in this neighbourhood.

* The woodman informed me that he had traced it as far as Hooper House in Wentworth Park!

To what races of men must we attribute these camps and earthworks? We are at present without the means of giving a positive answer to this question. Earthworks of very different ages are so very much like one another that only careful excavation, revealing the traces invariably dropped by the ancient builders, or the hearths which they formerly used, can shew to what age they belonged.

I may remark^{*} in passing that such local names as the Roman Rig, Caesar's Camp, the Danes' Dyke, and so forth, are not of the slightest value as guides to the real origin of the works they are applied to. Numbers of earthworks in England are ascribed to the Romans, the Danes, or the Devil, which had really nothing to do with any of them. These names only prove that the people who gave them, whether our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, or the peasantry of more recent times, wondering at these mysterious tokens of the past, and ignorant of their real origin, connected them with the names which had most powerfully impressed their own imagination. Thus the Grimes Dyke in Cambridgeshire receives its name from Grim, one of the giants of Teutonic mythology; and when we find the village of Grimesthorpe built close to the Roman Rig, we get a hint that the first Anglo-Saxon settlers connected this remarkable earthwork with some mysterious super-human power;* and if this proves nothing else, it proves that they did not build it themselves, and did not know

* The local name for the vallum of Antoninus is the Grimes Dyke; there is also a Grim's Dyke near Salisbury, a Grimesditch in Cheshire, Grimthorpe on the Yorkshire Wolds, and Grimston Moor near Gilling, all sites of ancient earthworks or barrows. Grimes' Graves in Norfolk are some neolithic flint diggings.

who built it. In like manner the name Carl Wark shows that the origin of that fort was mysterious and unknown to the first English settlers in that neighbourhood; the *Carl* being a synonym for the Old Man or the Devil.*

But while we must wait for future explorations before we can decide with certainty to what epoch these monuments belong, we are not without data which may help us towards a guess at their relative age. The results of General Pitt-Rivers' long and unique experience in digging into earthworks have led him to regard prehistoric camps like those of Wincobank and Carl Wark, not as parts of a system of combined defences (a favourite theory with some antiquaries) but as places of refuge built by some local tribe, to which they fled on the approach of an enemy, and where they waited till the hostile force had returned to the place from which it came.†

The longer lines of defence, such as the Roman Rig, shew, in the opinion of the same investigator, a more advanced state of civilization, and are therefore probably of later date. No long earthwork which has yet been excavated has been found to go back so far as the Neolithic period. The Wansdyke and Bokerley Dyke, which were formerly supposed to be pre-Roman, have been proved by General Pitt-Rivers' excavations to be post-Roman. The Romans themselves built earthen ramparts of this kind to defend the borders of their provinces,

* General Pitt Rivers' excavations in the Danes' Dyke near Flamborough Head have proved that it was built by the people of the early Bronze Age.

† See "Excavations in Cranbourne Chase," by Lieut.-General Pitt Rivers. 3 Vols.

such as the great *Limes Germania* on the German frontier, and the Wall of Severus in Britain. It is not an impossible supposition that the Roman Rig may have been built after the departure of the Romans, to defend some remains of British territory against the advance of the Anglian conquerors. And if (as again seems not impossible) it was formerly connected with the boundary earthwork near Bradfield, and with those fragments which are still to be traced going in a northerly direction on the line of the great Roman road known as the Ermine Street, may it not have formed the boundary of the British kingdom of Elmete, which was not conquered by the Anglians till the time of King Edwin, in the 7th century?*. This is merely a conjecture, but the use of conjecture is to stimulate observation and research.

Such camps as those of Wincobank, Cæsar's Camp, Mam Tor, and Carl Wark, we may therefore with a reasonable amount of probability refer to a prehistoric period. But for absolute certainty on these points we must wait for the spade to do its work.†

With regard to the vast extent of some of these prehistoric fortifications, such as those on Mam Tor, General

* The Roman Rig proves plainly that it was not built by the Romans, as it has its ditch to the S.W. side, shewing that the enemy was expected from that quarter.

† It is greatly to be desired that the camps and earthworks of our district should receive careful and scientific investigation. General Pitt-Rivers expresses his belief that there is not one of the enormous number of camps scattered over the country, the approximate date of which might not be fixed by sections cut through the rampart. "Excavations in Cranbourne Chase," III, p. xi.

Pitt-Rivers is of opinion that it was not the intention of the ancient builders to defend the whole line of the works at once, but that their main object was to have an elevated position commanding all the approaches, from which to hurl missiles at the advancing enemy.* The banks were no doubt generally defended by stockades or hedges on the top.†

There are two circles in the neighbourhood of Penistone which do not appear to be of military origin. In both cases, the vallum is rapidly disappearing, and can scarcely ever have been comparable in size to that of the camp at Wincobank. One is near Heath Hall, about 2 miles S. of Penistone; it lies in low wet ground, and has a vallum, scarcely more than a foot high, on each side of the ditch. It is about 100 paces in diameter, and has a well-marked entrance on the N. side. The other, which is about the same size, is about two miles further to the West, on the top of a hill near the hamlet of Langsett, commanding an extensive view.‡ Though this is in a more defensible situation, I am inclined to think (though I am only expressing my own conjecture) that these circles enclosed the huts planted by some primitive family for their

* See a paper on the "Hill Forts of Sussex," by Colonel Lane-Fox (now Gen. Pitt-Rivers) in *Archæologia*, Vol. XLII.

† The remains of such palisading have been discovered in the vallum of Uffington Castle in the vale of the White Horse. "*Crania Britannica*."

‡ It has been said of both these camps that they are circles having the ditch inside instead of outside the vallum. I believe this is a mistake arising from confounding the bank on the counterscarp with the main vallum. Certainly in several cases which I have seen of circles like these, the outer bank looks more important than the inner one; but possibly the inner one was anciently defended by a hedge or stockade.

summer migrations into the hills, where they went to pasture their cattle, and that the large enclosure was intended to protect their flocks from wolves.*

The earthworks at Laughton, Mexborough and Bradfield, which belong to quite a different class, will be described in a subsequent chapter.

* Near Addingham in Wharfedale there are two similar circles on the hill side, which are both enclosed in extensive lines of circumvallation, probably for the protection by night of the herds of several families, or a tribe, who made their summer abodes there.

CHAPTER IV.

ROMAN REMAINS.

Templeborough—Petilius Cerealis and the Brigantes—The Ryknield Street—The Long Causey—Roman Camp at Brough—The Nature of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest—The Ickles and Rotherham—The Roman Tower at York.

WE have already shown that the “Roman Rig” does not belong to Roman times at all. But there was an important Roman station near Rotherham, the remains of which were partially excavated a few years ago. It is deplorable that they have lately been covered up by the farmer, who wants the use of the land. When the history of Britain comes to be known and valued by the people of Britain, this field will be bought by the Rotherham Corporation, and the excavations will be renewed and completed, and without doubt many highly interesting discoveries will be made.

The site of this Roman station has from time immemorial been called Templeborough, a name which must have been given when the columnar building, which was discovered in excavating the ruins, was still standing. The Romans loved to place their camps on tongues of land defended by two rivers, and Templeborough stands in this position, in the angle caused by the junction of the

Don and the Rother. In the time of the antiquary Hunter (1831), the camp was still surrounded by a double bank, "the outer line considerably exceeding the inner in height and thickness." In 1877 it was "a remarkably well-defined quadrangular earthwork, rather longer from N. to S. than from E. to W." We may remark here that Roman camps are always rectangular, either square or oblong, and thus it is easy to tell them from all other fortifications in this island, whether Neolithic, British, or Anglo-Saxon, for these are either circular, oval, or irregular in shape. The field in which Templeborough is buried used to be called the Castle Garth; it lies on the right hand of the road from Rotherham to Sheffield, a little further out than the Bessemer Works.

The excavations which were carried on here in 1877 showed that the Roman settlement had twice been burnt to the ground and then built up again on its own ruins. Coins were discovered in various parts of the ruins ranging from the time of the emperor Augustus to that of Constantine, shewing that the station was first founded at an early period. In the oldest part of the remains, the foundations of a large hall were found, which had had rows of stone pillars on the S. and E. sides. Its rooms had been warmed by a *hypocaust*, or arrangement of pipes for carrying hot air. The stone thresholds were much worn by the tread of feet. "On the east of the building lay the main road through the station, and beyond it a large open space, rudely laid with boulder pitching, in which no foundations were found. This seemingly open area extended to the E. rampart, and abutting upon it, in

the S.E. angle of the camp, was found a circular well of Roman construction, 29 feet deep. A number of leather soles of sandals of the ordinary Roman type were found at the bottom of this well. The columnar building was probably the Pretorium or Town Hall, the open space the Forum or Market-place.”*

Very few buildings with columns of the Roman period have as yet been found in Britain. As there were no capitals found with the columns, it is thought that the *entablature*, that is the capitals and cornice, were of wood, as well as the roof, which accounts for the quantity of charcoal found in the remains of this hall. It was evidently destroyed by fire, for its ruined stones shew marks of great heat. Afterwards a new settlement was built on the ruins of the older one, and a well-made road was found right over the broken columns. This second settlement also was destroyed by fire, and in time the ground was occupied again, but this time by a people who did not build in stone, but threw up banks of earth on the lines of the old Roman ramparts, and even buried part of the Roman pavement in this earthwork, a fact which shows that the bank was made long after the Roman buildings. Mr. G. T. Clark believes that it was thrown up by the Romanized Britons, after the Roman legions had left the island, and after the destruction of the Roman buildings by some foray of the Picts and Scots.

We can easily believe that this Roman camp at Templeborough was first thrown up when the Roman general

* Paper on Roman Rotherham, by J. D. Leader, pub. in Guest's "History of Rotherham," p. 593.

Petilius Cerealis was attacking the Brigantes, whom he reduced under the dominion of Rome in the year A.D. 70 to 75. It was not without many battles, and some of them bloody,* that he accomplished this work. After the Brigantes were subdued, their chief towns became Roman stations, and thus arose Eboracum or York, Isurium or Aldborough, and Cataractonium or Catterick. These and the other Roman stations in Britain were connected by the far-famed Roman roads. The Rykniel Street, a name given by our English forefathers to the great Roman road which ran from Bath to York, is known to have run from Little Chester near Derby to Chesterfield, and it is not improbable that it ran from Chesterfield through Beighton to Templeborough. It is said that portions of a Roman road might once be traced on Brinsworth Common, which is close to Templeborough. At Templeborough the road crossed the Don by a ford, and went north to Legiolio (now Castleford) where it joined the great Roman road from Lincoln to York, called Ermyn Street by the ancient English, after the name of one of their gods. It is supposed (by Mr. Thomson Watkin†) that Templeborough is the ancient Roman station of Morbium, which appears on the line of the Rykniel Street in one of the Roman accounts of Britain.

There appears to have been also a road from the camp at Templeborough to the westward, in the direction of Sheffield.† The Romans *may* have had a station at Sheffield, though the tradition that the present parish

* Tacitus, Agricola 17, "multa prælia, et aliquando non incruenta."

† See Guest's "History of Rotherham," p. 595.

churchyard of Sheffield was once a Roman camp, is probably of modern manufacture.* A Roman road led from Sheffield across the moors to Brough, near Hope in Derbyshire, and a road which bears the name of the Long Causey is said to mark its route. "On the moors between Redmires and Stanedge, the large paving-stones of which it was formed in many parts remain. Above Bamford it still remains in much perfection, and descends in a straight and very steep line down to the Derwent, which it crossed by a ford. From thence to Brough the exact line of road has been lost."† At Brough there existed, until a few years ago, the remains of a Roman camp; it has now been destroyed by the farmer, but a Roman altar may still be seen there, built into the wall of a house. From Brough to Buxton, which also was once a Roman station, the line of the road can be traced on the Ordnance Map. It is known as Batham Gate.

There is one other trace of the Romans in our district, the remains of a camp near Hornsey Lane, about a mile west of South Kirkby; being rectangular, it is probably of Roman work.

But to return to Templeborough. It suggests some interesting questions relating to the conquest of Britain by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. Did they exterminate

* The name Campo Lane, given to the alley W. of the church, probably means a football field. See Leader's "Reminiscences of Old Sheffield," p. 304, note.

† Paper on Roman Rotherham, by J. D. Leader, in Guest's "History of Rotherham," p. 593.

the native population, and with them the Roman civilization which was existing in Britain? or did they largely spare the conquered, and taking wives from among them, learn their arts and customs? Our strongest historical school adopts the former view, believing that the Anglo-Saxon conquest was largely of an exterminating nature, and that only a very small and insignificant part of the Britons were retained as slaves. But this view, after a short period of domination, has seriously been called in question lately, and it is maintained by its opponents that the Keltic inhabitants very largely survived the conquest, and intermingled with their conquerors. The question is too large a one to be discussed here; it can only be said that all the evidence to be obtained from the Roman remains near Rotherham supports the former theory. Here we have a Roman town, which at some distant epoch was destroyed by fire, and after that destruction, the site was abandoned. The name of the nearest hamlet, the Iekles, *possibly* shews that there was a Christian church there in Roman-British times, as the word Iekles, like the Eceles which we find in so many parts of the country, is probably derived from the Greek *ekklesia*, a church, from which comes the Welsh form Eglwys.* But the church at the Iekles, if ever there was one, was deserted and forgotten. The English town of Rotherham (*the home on the Rother*) grew up at a distance from the ruins of the Roman town, for the English conqueror generally feared the goblin-haunted ruins of the past; and its church, when it came to possess one, had no connexion with the British Iekles.

* See Appendix, Note K.

The Romans were splendid builders; they used good materials, and their masonry was excellent. They frequently used bricks, or rather tiles, for bonding courses in stone walls. An example of this may be seen in the multangular tower which once formed part of the Roman defences of York, and which is still to be seen in the grounds of the Philosophical Society at York. Though patched and mended in every century, the lower part of this tower is in the main a genuine piece of Roman work, which can be readily distinguished from the mediæval part which has been added to it above. Another very interesting specimen of Roman building which can be easily visited in a day's excursion from Rotherham, is the Roman gateway at Lincoln, the most perfect example of a Roman town-gate which now exists in this country. If the reader wishes for a complete picture of Roman life in Britain, he cannot do better than visit the admirable collection of Roman antiquities preserved in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, in the former Hospitium of St. Mary's Abbey at York.

CHAPTER V.

MOATED HILLOCKS.

These Hillocks a Special Type of Earthwork—Possibly Norman—
Laughton—Mexborough—Bradfield—Bakewell—Hope—Hathersage—Holmesfield—Worksop.—Transition to Norman Castles.

I HAVE now to speak of a type of earthwork which is very common in our district, but whose date must still be pronounced uncertain. I allude to the moated hillock, with the platform or bailey-court attached. The hillock is generally lofty, in shape like a truncated cone, and completely surrounded with a ditch; the platform, which is usually of a horse-shoe shape, is also ditched round, and has a strong bank on the counterescarp of the ditch. These earthworks differ markedly from the British or prehistoric strongholds described in Chapter III; firstly, because they all have the conical mound, which was probably intended for a post of observation; secondly, because instead of being situated on the tops of hills, and obviously built as places of refuge, they are in the lowlands, often in the centres of villages, often in sites which were the chief places of important estates. Mr. G. T. Clark,* who was the first English antiquary to pay special attention to this very marked type of earthwork, believes it to have

* "Mediæval and Military Architecture," by G. T. Clark.

been the form adopted in England during the invasions of the Danes, in the 9th and 10th centuries. But the evidence for this is not conclusive; and on the other hand, there are facts which suggest the probability that these earthworks were thrown up by the Normans, before the erection of stone castles, to secure themselves in their new possessions in England.

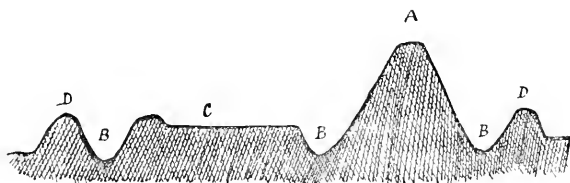


FIG. 16 A.

SECTION OF A MOATED HILLOCK AND PLATFORM.

A.—The Hillock. B.—Moat. C.—Platform or Bailey-court.
D.—Bank on Counterscarp.

Ordericus Vitalis, and Wace, the contemporary historians of the Norman conquest, expressly say that the English had very few fortifications in their country at the time of the Norman invasion, and they mention this as one of the causes why the country was so easily conquered.* But if all the moated mounds which now remain existed then, England must have bristled with fortifications. In Normandy, earthworks of this class are very common; and there is a picture of one in the Bayeux tapestry, representing the taking of Dinant, in Brittany, by William, duke of Normandy. The same tapestry shews

* See Freeman, "Norman Conquest," II, 605.

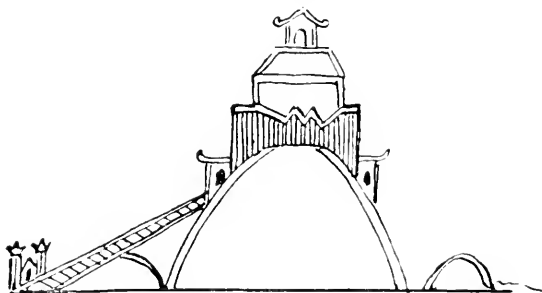


FIG. 16 B.

MOATED HILLOCK AT DINANT, FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

a mound of this very kind in course of erection at Hastings. In the former case, the mound is represented with a wooden citadel or look-out tower on the top of it, to which two men are attempting to set fire;* and it is connected by a wooden bridge with the bailey-court below. Mounds of this kind were therefore constructed in Normandy and Brittany before the conquest, and it is exceedingly probable that when the Normans came to England, where they would need fortifications which could be quickly thrown up at little expense, they would construct the earthworks to which they were accustomed in Normandy. But the question cannot be settled decisively until a number of these earthworks have been examined by the spade. In the only case (that I am aware of) that one of these moated mounds has been thoroughly excavated, it was found to be Norman.†

* The men are omitted in the illustration, fig. 16 B.

† Cæsar's Camp, above Folkestone, excavated by General Pitt-Rivers. "Arch. Journal," V. 1883, p. 58. See Appendix, Note L.

It is probable, whoever constructed these earthworks, that the high conical mound was always intended to carry a look-out tower of wood, while on the platform would stand the buildings, also of wood in the first instance, where the lord and his household lived. The enclosing banks were no doubt surmounted with a wooden palisade; such a palisade was still standing on the earthworks of Tickhill Castle when Cromwell took it.* At Cardiff the struts of the wooden bridge which connected the mound with the platform have recently been uncovered.†

It is an interesting fact that these earthworks are almost always known as "Castle Hill" or "Bailey Hill." Now these are not dead, but living names; instead of attributing these earthworks to fairies or giants, they assign them to the use for which they were first intended, and it is not without significance that they do so in words of Norman speech. The *bailey* is still the proper word for the enclosed courtyard of a castle.‡

There are a number of earthworks in our district which conform, some very completely, and others more remotely to this type, and which I will now briefly enumerate.

Laughton is a fine typical instance of this kind of earthwork.¶ The hillock is perfect, with the ditch all round it, and the platform attached. Domesday says that

* Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," Tickhill.

† Clark, "Military Architecture," I, 340.

‡ See Appendix, Note M.

¶ Called "Site of a Roman Encampment" in the Ordnance Map.

Earl Edwin (the brother of Morkar) had a hall at Laughton, and it is therefore frequently assumed that these earthworks are the site of it. But there is no evidence to prove it, and they may just as well have been thrown up by Roger de Busli, the first Norman lord of this estate.

Mexborough (Castle Hill) is another very good specimen of the class; the hillock is much worn down from its original height. Here in addition to the usual hillock and platform there is another half-moon enclosure annexed; perhaps as a place of safety for the flocks and herds of the lord. The platform here has its bank, and the bank on the counterscarp is also to be seen.

Bradfield has two distinct sets of earthworks, the Bailey Hill and the Castle Hill. The Bailey Hill has a remarkably lofty mound. The platform is of an irregularly circular shape, following the outline of the ground, which slopes away steeply to the W. and N., so as to form a sufficient defence on that side. On the S. side the platform is defended by a magnificently high bank; traces of it remain on the E. side also. The earthworks on the Castle Hill appear to belong to the same type, but they are so much worn as to be ill-defined; there is a mound, partially scooped away, and a small platform. There is no ditch on the W. side, which is very steep, but there is a bank at some distance from the bottom of the hill. The ditch on the opposite side seems to have contained the approach.

At Bakewell there is an earthwork called Castle Hill, but I am doubtful whether it belongs to the type I am

describing. There is a platform and a very small mound, which may only be the covered ruins of a tower. There is no ditch. As it is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that Ethelfleda, the Lady of Mercia, fortified Bakewell, one would like to know if anything remains of her work. Excavation only can decide.*

There is an earthen mound at Hope, but whether there is a platform attached I was unable to find out, as it is now part of a private garden. There was a castle at Hope in the time of Edward I.

At Hathersage there is a fine circular earthwork, called Camp Green, which by its proximity to the village and the church, conforms to the type which I am describing; but it has no hillock. I mention it here because its situation classes it with the later fortifications rather than with the hill-camps of the prehistoric period.

At Holmesfield there are vestiges of an earthwork, which appears to have been a hillock, with a ditch round it, but no platform remains.

At Worksop there is a Castle Hill, which is apparently a natural mound, steeply scarped on one side, probably artificially, and with the ditch remaining on all the other sides. It is much larger than the typical look-out hillock of the earthworks we are now describing, but we occasionally find that when a natural site has been used for a mound, the mound chosen may be large enough for a

* It is rather remarkable that in this place where there certainly was a Saxon earthwork, the mound which is supposed by some to be characteristically Saxon should be absent.

whole castle, as at Conisborough, but the bailey-court is attached to it in conformity with the usual pattern. The houses of Worksop have encroached so much on the mound in question that it is impossible to say if there has been a bailey-court annexed or not. Leland says: "There is a place now invyronyd with trees, cawlid the Castelle Hille, where the Lovetofts had sumtime a castell. The stones of the castell were fetchid, as sum say, to make the faire lodge in Wyrkesoppe Park, not yet finished."

Whether the moated hillocks, with platforms attached, were Norman or Saxon in their original construction, it is quite certain that the earliest Norman castles in England were built on this ground-plan. Even when they were built of stone, we have the hillock of earth with a stone keep upon it instead of a wooden one, and the moated platform is surrounded by a stone wall on top of an earthen bank. The four castles described in a subsequent chapter will be seen to conform in their general features to the plan which we find in the earthworks of Laughton and Mexborough.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND.

Anglo-Saxon Architecture — Norman — Transition Norman — Early English — Decorated — Perpendicular — The Renaissance — Mouldings — Norman, Early English, &c.

AS the remains of antiquity with which we have to deal in the rest of this book are almost all architectural, it is desirable that we should have some general notions of the historical development of English architecture.

Our Anglian and Saxon forefathers, when they came to Britain, knew little or nothing of building in stone; but they found plenty of examples of Roman buildings to copy, and they also received a direct building impulse from Rome when their conversion to Christianity brought them into contact with the civilization of the ancient capital of the world. Thus arose the so-called Anglo-Saxon style of architecture, which, as Mr. Freeman remarks, "is simply a style common to England with the rest of Europe, and which is best distinguished by the name of *Primitive Romanesque*."* We are told that Benedict Biscop, in the 7th century, brought architects from Gaul to build a stone

* "Norman Conquest," V. p. 601.

church at Monk Wearmouth "according to the manner of the Romans, which he greatly loved."* In the fragments of Anglo-Saxon architecture which are scattered over England, we trace the mighty influence of Rome over the receptive minds of our forefathers. We have unfortunately no remains of the better class of churches built by the Anglo-Saxons, for the Norman prelates who came into possession of the English sees after the Conquest were inspired by a passion for building in the newer style which was then developing in Normandy; consequently they destroyed all the Anglo-Saxon cathedrals to make room for others. It is not surprising therefore that the fragments of Saxon work which have come down to our own day should be for the most part rude, and almost entirely devoid of decoration. Evidence exists however which leads us to conjecture that the best Anglo-Saxon churches were decorated in a most effective way with very elaborate carved stone-work.†

The characteristics of this *Primitive Romanesque*, more generally called Anglo-Saxon architecture, are found in the "long and short work," that is, the use of long stones laid alternately horizontally and vertically in the jambs of doors and the quoins (angles) of walls (see fig. 17): the use of what are called *baluster* columns, short plump pillars which look as though they had been turned in a lathe (see fig. 27): the use of these columns as *mid-wall*

* Beda, "Historia Abbatum," V.

† The only specimens of Anglo-Saxon architecture in our district are the N.W. door of Laughton church, (fig. 17) and the tower of Maltby. The beautiful crosses which still preserve for us specimens of Anglo-Saxon decoration, are described in Ch. XII. See also Appendix Y.

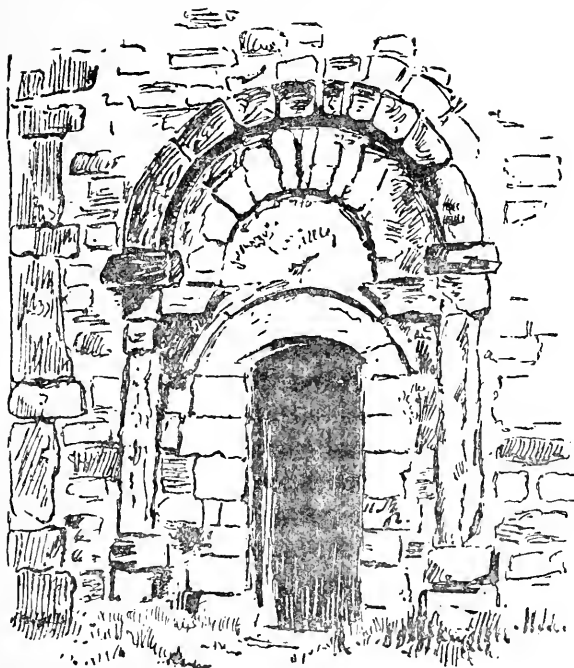


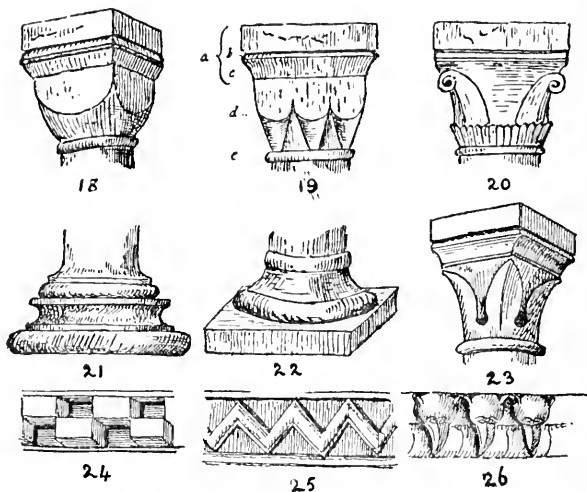
FIG. 17.

ANGLO-SAXON ARCH AT LAUGHTON ;

Showing long-and-short work to the left of the arch. The inner doorway is of later date.

shafts in windows, a feature never seen in Norman architecture: the decoration of the outer wall by pilaster slips. The arch (except in glazed windows) goes straight through the wall, without those *orders* or rows of receding columns which we find in the Norman style; the windows on the other hand when intended to be glazed have often a large *splay* both within and without; they are generally set

high in the wall. The towers are tall and narrow, and their vertical line unbroken by buttresses, like the old *campaniles* of Italy.



NORMAN CAPITALS, BASES, AND MOULDINGS.

18.—Cushion capital. 19.—Scalloped capital, showing (*a*) Norman abacus, quirked and chamfered; (*b*) the quirk or groove; (*c*) the chamfer; (*d*) the bell; (*e*) the astragal. 20.—Volute capital. 21.—Attic base (common in Norman). 22.—A common Norman base. 23.—Transition Norman capital. 24.—Billet moulding. 25.—Chevron moulding. 26.—Beak-head moulding.

The succeeding styles of architecture are generally dated as follows:—Norman.....1060—1175.

Early English ... 1175—1275.

Decorated1275—1375.

Perpendicular ... 1375—1575.

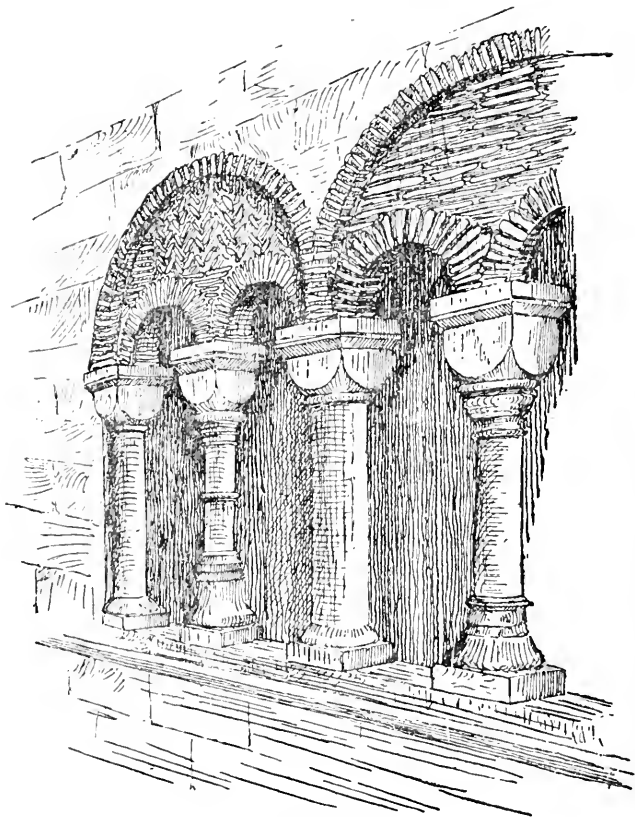
We must bear in mind that these dates are only approximate, and are intended as helps to memory rather

than as strict registers of facts.* We take certain moments in architecture and classify them according to their signs, but in reality architecture was always in a constant state of growth and change. Each style slid gradually into the next; and just as at the present day some people are seen wearing the newest fashions of dress while others are wearing the fashions of two years ago, so churches in some parts of the country continued to be built in the older styles after the newer styles had reached their full development in other places. This makes it difficult sometimes to decide the date of a building by its architecture alone.

A great building and re-building epoch set in with the Norman Conquest (1066) and by the 12th century the triumph of Norman architecture was complete, and it was only in some out-of-the-way parts of the country that Saxon churches survived.

The *Norman* style however was only a development of the Romanesque which had been general all over the Roman empire. It retained the round arches, but its most marked innovation was the breaking up of the wall-opening into a group of receding arches with their accompanying columns, called *orders* by architects. In like manner the piers between the nave and aisles were broken up into groups of square shafts, or had round shafts added to them. The huge round column is very characteristic of English Norman, but the grouped shafts are quite as ancient; Edward the Confessor used them at

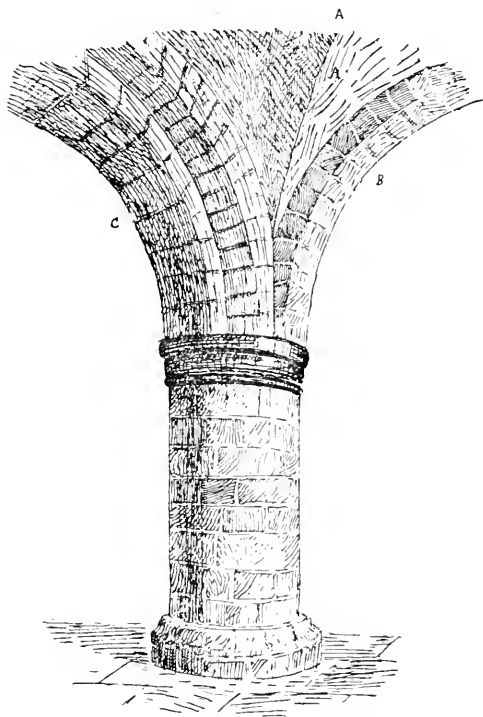
* See Appendix, Note N.



27. NORMAN ARCHES :

The arches are of Roman bricks; the left hand spandril shews herring-bone work; the 2nd shaft is an Anglo-Saxon baluster shaft used again by the Norman builders. From St. Albans.

Westminster.* The *cushion* capital (fig. 18) was the prevailing one in early Norman work, but capitals with *volute*s (fig. 20) which are descended from Roman and



27 B.—NORMAN VAULTING.

A.—Plain groined vault. B.—Square-edged arch. C.—Soffit-rib.

* The fragments of Edward the Confessor's building which still remain at Westminster Abbey show that the Norman style was introduced into England even before the Norman conquest.

Greek prototypes, were also common throughout this period. The *scallop* is also a frequently recurring form (fig. 19). The early Norman vaults, used in the aisles of churches, were quite plain, though *groined* (intersecting fig. 27B); about the year 1125 ribbed groins were introduced. Stone vaulting was not at first attempted in the naves of churches, the English architects adhering to wooden ceilings for some 50 years after the Norman conquest. Early Norman windows are small, and have no mouldings, but are splayed from the outside inwards at an angle of some 45 degrees. One very sure mark of Norman work is the flat buttress, which was not used in any of the later styles. In general, early Norman work is rude and plain, and the masonry bad and wide-jointed.*

About 1150, Norman architecture became lighter and more decorative. The arches were now enriched with many kinds of decorative mouldings. Fine carved bosses adorn the intersections of the arch groinings. But the greatest change which marks the *Transition Norman* is the pointed arch. The date of its introduction into England has been much discussed, but it seems probable that it was popularized in this country by the Cistercian monks, when they built their monasteries at Fountains (1143), Kirkstall (1152) and other places, where the pointed arch

* The finest specimens of Norman architecture in our district are to be seen in the churches of Whitwell, Wath, Eckington, Edlington, and Thorpe Salvin, and in the castles of Conisborough and the Peak. But many other churches contain Norman portions. Steetley Chapel is a gem of late Norman. See Appendix, Note O, for the Norman work at Lincoln Cathedral.

is found in all the main arcades.* This was some years before the French architect, William of Sens, used it in the rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral after the fire of 1174. The spread of the Transition architecture in England was the accompaniment if not the effect of a great religious revival, the revival promoted by the Cistercian order of monks. Our great Cistercian abbeys, Fountains, Kirkstall, Roche, Rievaulx, Jervaux, Byland, Furness, and Tintern, were all founded in the 12th century.† The arches of the Transition Norman style are pointed as a rule, but we often find that while the pointed arch is used for the main arcades, on account of its superior constructive value, the round arch is still used for windows and decorative work. The masonry in the latter part of the Norman period was excellent.‡ The Transition Norman led into

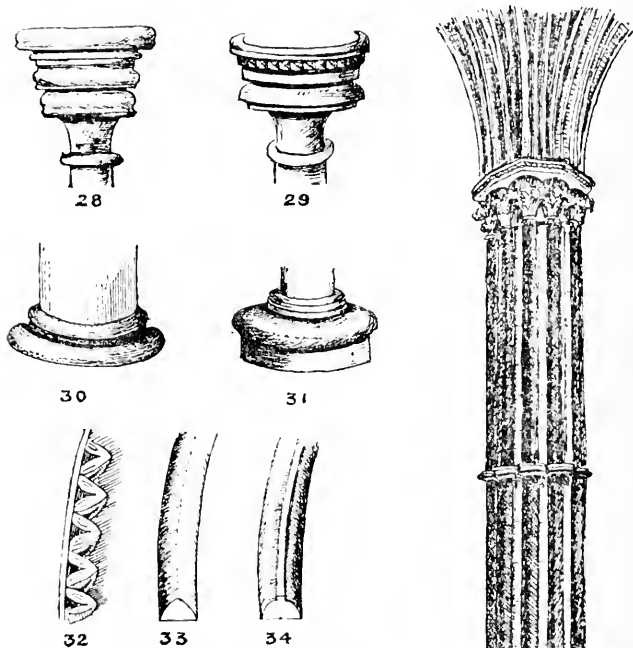
The *Early English*, which we find full-blown at Lincoln towards the end of the 12th century, while at Ely and Peterborough the Norman style was still being used. Early English, sometimes called the first Gothic style, was severely plain in character at first. The arches were all pointed; and though enriched with many and deeply-cut mouldings, they were mostly plain, the dog-tooth

* The earliest instance known of its use in England is in the Benedictine abbey of Malmesbury, built between 1115 and 1139. Parker's "Introduction to Gothic Architecture," p. 68.

† Mr. Mickethwaite has remarked on the singularly uniform character of Cistercian work wherever it is found. "Yorks. Arch. Journ.," VII, 239.

‡ This neighbourhood has three splendid monuments of the Transition Norman period in Roche Abbey, Worksop Abbey, and the W. bay of Tickhill church.

moulding (fig. 32) being the only decoration employed at first. The arcades of the Early English period were supported by columns surrounded with detached shafts, and this detachment of the shaft from the central pier is a marked feature of the style. These smaller shafts are frequently tied together with a band half way up their

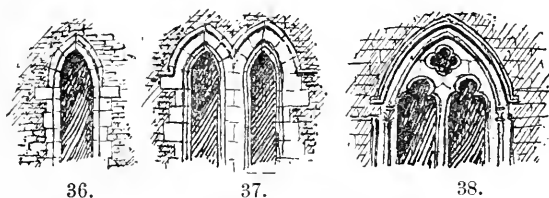


EARLY ENGLISH CAPITALS, BASES AND
MOULDINGS.

28.—Plain Capital. 29.—Ditto showing
Nail-head Moulding. 30 & 31.—Early
English Bases, waterholding. 32.—Dog-
tooth Moulding. 33.—Keeled Bowtell.
34.—Roll and Fillet.

35.—EARLY ENGLISH
GROUPED PILLAR.

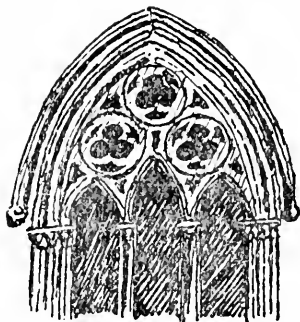
length (fig. 35). Early English buttresses have a bolder projection than Norman ones, but the projection is less than the width, in the uppermost stage. The flying buttress is introduced. A peculiar feature of Early English is its *lancet fenestration*, a row of narrow lancet windows



EARLY ENGLISH WINDOWS.

36.—Lancet. 37.—Double Lancet. 38.—Plate Tracery.

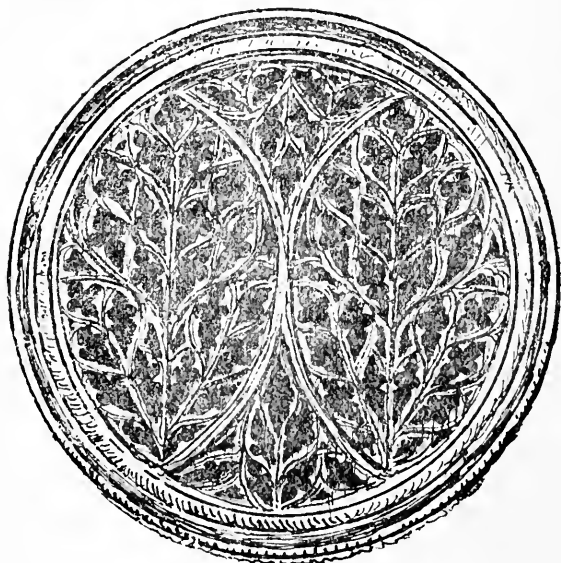
filling the east wall of a choir for example. It was not uncommon to place a small circular window above two lancet lights at the end of a gable; then the two lancets and the circle were drawn together under one arch, or a quatrefoiled aperture was pierced through the stone plate which filled up the head of the arch in the way which is now called *plate-tracery*, (fig. 38). From plate-tracery to bar tracery was an easy development; but there do not appear to have been any windows with real bar-tracery before 1245, when they appear in Westminster Abbey. Geometrical window patterns, consisting of circles and segments of circles, were the first forms of bar-tracery. Early English capitals were at first extremely plain, trimmed only with plain ring-mouldings (fig. 28, 29). But as the 13th century advanced, the style became more decorative, until the richest and most lovely carving adorns the capitals, mouldings, and spandrels.



39.—GEOMETRICAL WINDOW.

The Transition between Early English and Decorated, which took place in the reign of Edward I, is perhaps the most beautiful moment in English architecture.*

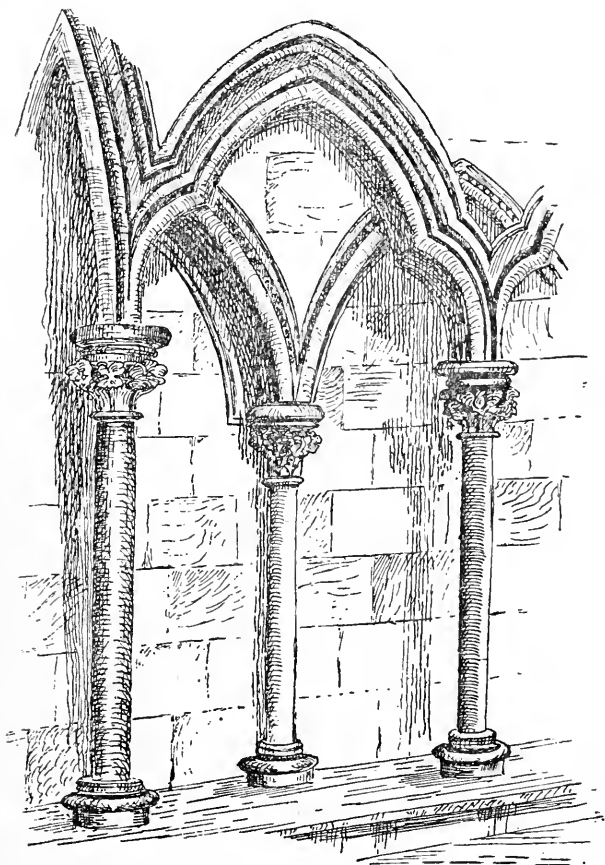
* It is remarkable that Early English is comparatively rare among the churches of our district. The naves of Dronfield and Brampton, the chancels of Handsworth, and Adwick-le-Street, the Lady-chapel at Wath, and the 'W. front of Tickhill, are the best specimens.



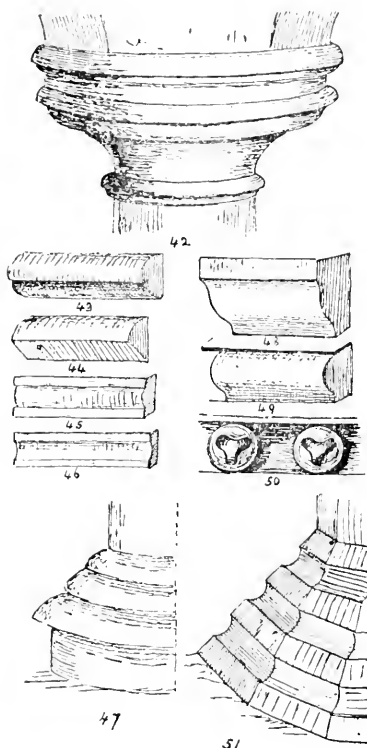
40

FLOWING TRACERY.—The Rose Window at Lincoln.

“Not even the great Pharaonic era in Egypt, the age of Pericles in Greece, nor the great period of the Roman empire, will bear comparison with the 13th century in Europe, whether we look to the extent of the buildings



41.—EARLY ENGLISH ARCHES, FROM LINCOLN.

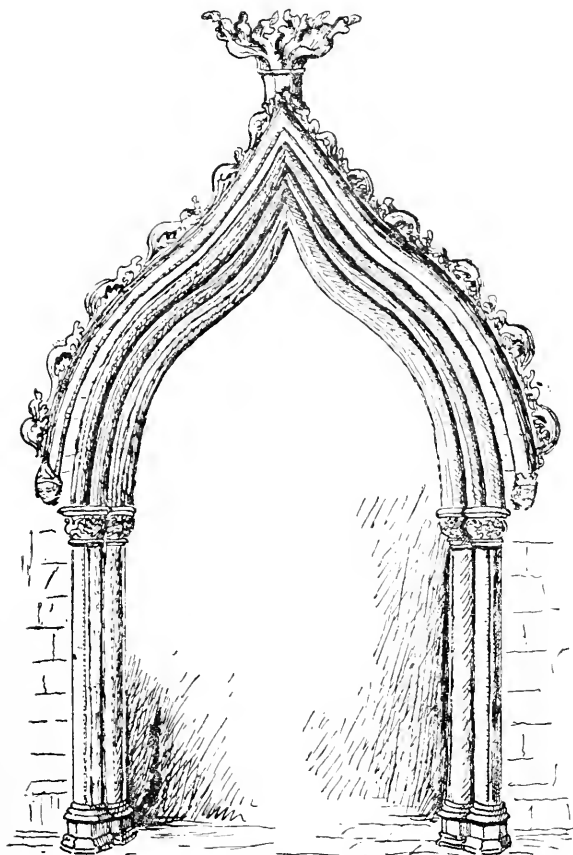


DECORATED CAPITAL, MOULDINGS AND
BASES.

42.—Plain Decorated Capital. 43.—Scroll moulding. 44.—Curve-and-slant moulding; found in other styles, but most common in Dec. 45.—Sunk quarter round. 46.—Sunk chamfer. 47, 51.—Decorated bases. 48.—Wave moulding. 49.—Ogee moulding. 50.—Ball-flower moulding.

executed, their wonderful variety and constructive elegance, the daring imagination that conceived them, or the power of poetry and of lofty religious feeling that is expressed in every feature and in every part of them."†

† Ferguson, "History of Architecture," I, 193. Southwell Minster, which can be easily visited from Sheffield, has in its Chapter-house perhaps the most exquisite specimen of Transition Early English in the kingdom.



52

DECORATED OGEE ARCH.

The *Decorated* period, which grew out of the Early English, takes its name from its extensive use of decoration. The stone seems now to break into foliage, flower, and fruit. The pointed arches of the Decorated period are generally wider than those of the Early English; and a new form of arch, the *ogee* (fig. 52) becomes common in this style. Square-headed windows, enclosing little arches, also become common, especially in country churches. Geometric window tracery (fig. 39) continued to be used in England till nearly the middle of the 14th century, long after it had given way in France to the flowing forms called *Flamboyant* (fig. 40). But, “during the time that flowing forms were used in England (in the 14th century) they gave rise to some of the most beautiful creations in window tracery that are anywhere to be found.”* Round or octagonal pillars are most used in the Decorated style, especially in village churches, though clustered shafts are still to be found; but these, instead of being *detached*, as in Early English, are now *engaged* for nearly half their circumference in the central pier. The number of ribs in the groined vaults of roofs is increased in this style. Buttresses are frequently set diagonally at the angles of buildings; this is also common in early work of the next style, especially in towers. Decorated buttresses have their projection and their width about equal in the upper stage.†

* Ferguson, “History of Architecture,” Vol. II, p. 161.

† There are a great many Decorated churches in our District; Chesterfield, and the chancel of Dronfield are the finest examples.

All this time windows have been getting larger and

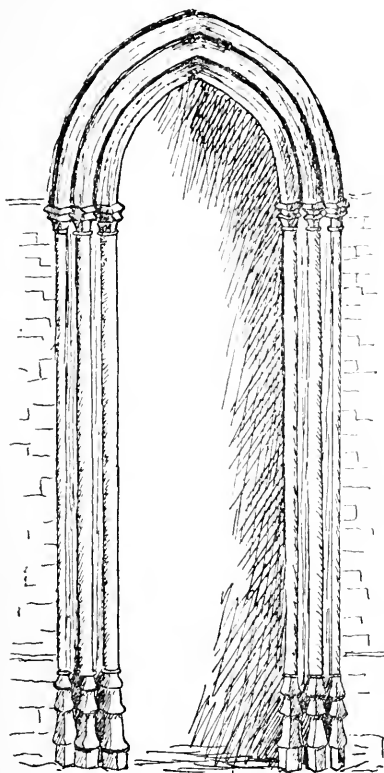
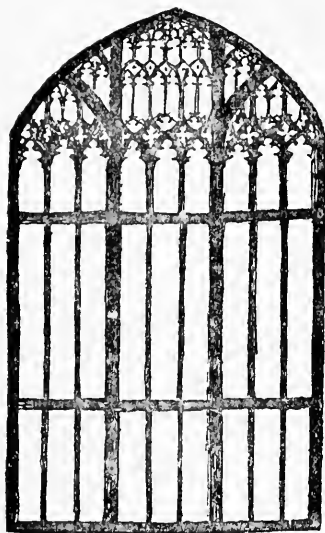


FIG 53.

PERPENDICULAR BELFRY ARCH.

larger, but in the *Perpendicular* style they reach their maximum. The *Perpendicular* is peculiar to England, and we can hardly congratulate ourselves on its special characteristics, the stone window mullions which go straight up into the window arch, which they seem to pierce, and the transoms which break up the great windows into square lines (fig. 54). These features must always be repellant to an eye which has fed on the curves used by the Gothic architects of the best time, who never

allowed a straight mullion to approach the arch head. As the style advanced, arches became flattened, as though they were half ashamed of their Gothic origin (fig. 61), and wished to return to the square entablature



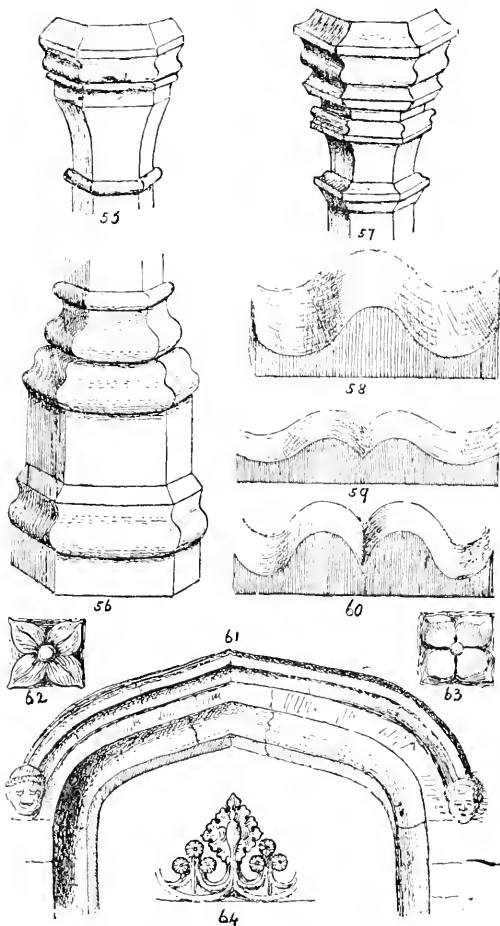
54.—PERPENDICULAR WINDOW.

of classical times.* Indeed, we constantly find a square moulding enclosing the arch (fig. 65). But the English architects achieved some noble buildings in the Perpendicular style, through their just sense of proportion, and through confining their aims to practicable effects. Pillars in the Perpendicular style are elongated in plan, the length running N. and S., and are either octagonal or composed of alternate half circles and hollows, tending

to become merely vertical mouldings. The capitals are generally trimmed with plain rings, (fig. 55 & 57) or with very shallow-cut foliage; very often there are no capitals at all, but the arch-mouldings are continued straight down the shaft. Perpendicular buttresses have greater projection than width.†

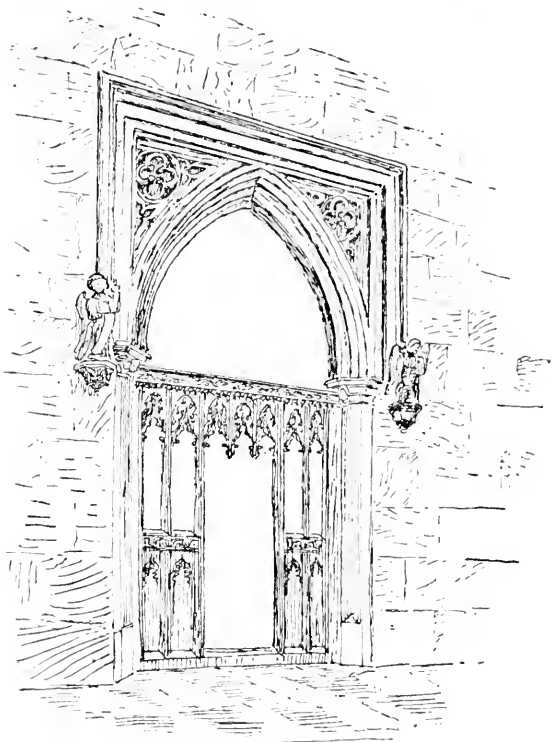
* Pugin dates the introduction of the flattened or *four-centred* arch at about 1440. "Specimens of Gothic Architecture."

† There can be no finer specimens of the Perpendicular style than Rotherham church, and the nave of Tickhill.



PERPENDICULAR CAPITALS, MOULDINGS, &c.

55, 57.—Perpendicular Capitals. 56.—Perpendicular Base. 58.—Perpendicular Wave Moulding (compare with Decorated Wave Moulding, fig. 48). 59.—Decorated Double Ogee Moulding. 60.—Perpendicular Double Ogee Moulding. 61.—Four-centred Arch, showing the Perpendicular *Carvetto*. 62.—Four-petalled flower, Decorated. 63.—Four-petalled flower, Perpendicular. 64.—Common Perpendicular Cornice Ornament.



65. SQUARE-HEADED PERPENDICULAR ARCH.
From Rickman's "Gothic Architecture."

Through the *Perpendicular*, which in its later stages is called the *Tudor* and the *Elizabethan*, the reminiscences of Gothic architecture were carried on in England until the 17th century, when the renaissance of classical architecture, which had long been victorious on the continent, became supreme in England also. Most of the important buildings raised in England between the time of James I

and the present century were poor copies of Greek and Roman models; yet many of Sir Christopher Wren's charming cupolas in the City of London show what a great genius could accomplish in this style. Attempts were made from time to time to revive Gothic, in spite of its being vulgarly regarded, by a public which had lost all true feeling for architecture, as barbarous and contemptible. Yet the English have at least the honour of returning to their old love for Gothic long before the nations of the continent; the revival of Gothic architecture, which we see in full swing at the present day, was initiated a century ago by Horace Walpole.*

The surest guides to the dates of architectural work are its mouldings, especially those of the arches, and of the capitals and bases of the pillars. These mouldings should be studied in some such book as Paley's "*Gothic Moldings*" by those who wish to master the subject;† I can here only briefly indicate the characteristic differences of the various styles.

1. It would be hazardous to say that the absence of mouldings in Norman work is an infallible sign of early date, for mouldings (of a clumsy character) were used in Saxon architecture, and the early Norman work at Durham has mouldings. Still as a rule the earliest Norman work is plain, and the difference between the N. transept

* Ferguson, II, 119.

† Very valuable hints on mouldings will be found scattered throughout Mr. Cranage's "*Churches of Shropshire*"; and in one of the forthcoming parts of this work, the author promises us a more detailed treatise on the subject.

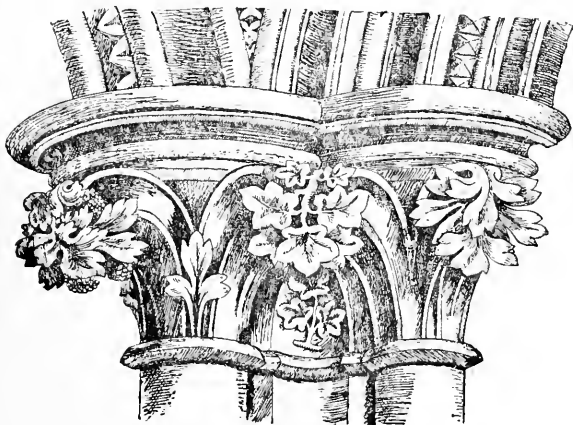
and the nave of Ely Minster is a good illustration of the difference between early and late Norman. The earliest arches, speaking generally, are without any mouldings; then a flat square-edged rib, called the soffit-rib or sub-arch, is introduced under the arch (fig. 27B). Then square mouldings with the edges chamfered off, and heavy round rolls, became common. The billet-moulding (fig. 24) is used in the earliest work. The later Norman developed an immense number of ornamental mouldings, such as the chevron (or zig-zag, fig. 25), the nail-head (see fig. 29), the beak-head (fig. 26), the star, and many others. Some of these, such as the chevron and the billet, are also found in early Norman. The square abacus, chamfered and quirked (see fig. 19) is a characteristic sign of Norman work. With very large columns a round abacus is used. The bases consist of various concave and convex members, very slightly cut (fig. 22).

2. In the Transition Norman, we begin to have the Early English mouldings mixed with Norman forms. The rolls (bowtells) are now multiplied and much more deeply cut; frequently they are cut in the shape known as the *pointed* or *keeled* bowtell (fig. 33). A peculiar form of capital, with a concave bell which has a kind of curved leaf enfolding it, is characteristic of Transition Norman (fig. 23). The square abacus is still retained, and is often the only mark of Transition in a building whose whole character is anything but Norman.* A base resembling the classic Attic base (fig. 21), consisting of two rolls with

* The square abacus was retained to a much later period in French architecture.

a deep hollow between, so deep that it will hold water, was introduced early in the Transition, and held its ground all through the Early English period (see fig. 30).

3. Early English Mouldings. Their peculiar characteristic is their deep undercutting. Just as the pillars are detached or almost detached from the central shaft, so the rolls are so deeply undercut that only a narrow neck joins them to the arch or capital. The pointed bowtell (fig. 33) is still used, and seems to have given rise to the filleted bowtell, (fig. 34), the fillet being a sort of narrow strap running along the bowtell, and increasing the play of light and shade. The bowtells have frequently two or even three fillets. Each member of a series of mouldings is generally separated from the rest by a deep hollow. Various angular forms are used as well as bowtells, but



66.—EARLY ENGLISH CAPITAL.

From Halfpenny's "Illustrations of York Minster."

always with an eye to the general effect of light and shade. The abacus of the capital is generally rounded off at the top, and is deeply undercut. The prevailing Early English base is the one first seen in Transition Norman (see above), but a base of three flattish rolls is also used. The dog-tooth (fig. 32) is the characteristic ornamental moulding. In carved foliage, the stalks rise in a graceful curve up the side of the capital, and the leaves curl over at the top; this kind of carving is badly named *stiff leaf foliage*. (fig. 66).

4. The Transition Early English, from about 1260 to



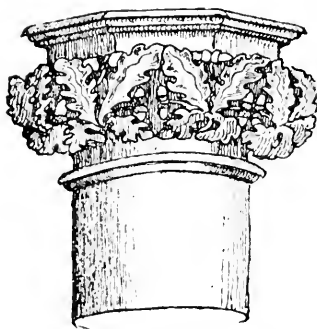
67.—TRANSITION EARLY ENGLISH CAPITAL.

The abacus is Early English, but the foliage is arranged in the Decorated style.

about 1280, is often very difficult to distinguish from Decorated, the two styles slide so imperceptibly into each other. But if a piece of work has marked signs of both styles, it will generally be safe to put it down as Transition.

5. Decorated mouldings: differ from Early English chiefly in being much less deeply undercut, and in having their deepest hollows, not between each member, but between groups of members. Their general effect is softer and more blended than Early English mouldings. New and softer forms, such as the *wave-moulding*, (fig. 48), and the *ogee*, (fig. 49), come into use. Fillets are more used

than ever; the roll with three fillets is exceedingly common. The scroll-moulding (fig. 43) which is used in later Early English, is so common in Decorated as to be one of its most marked features; it is generally to be seen in the abacus and astragal of Decorated capitals. Two other mouldings, the sunk chamfer and the sunk quarter-round (figs. 45 and 46) are much used in Decorated arches. The plain or hollow chamfer is also common, and Decorated windows have often no other mouldings. Decorated caps are generally low, and tend to spread outwards at the top. (fig. 42). The bases of columns are generally three rolls. (fig. 47); the difference between this base in the preceding style and in this is that in Early English the lowest roll is round underneath, while in Decorated it is flat. In country churches a hollow chamfer curving under, on a square or octagonal plinth, is an exceedingly common base, (fig. 73 and 74); it is only to be distinguished from the very similar base of the Perpendicular style by its greater projection. The plinth is often formed of several stages, the lower ones being polygonal; and many Decorated bases may be known by having an appearance of having been built up from the ground in a gradually sloping pyramidal form, of many stages (fig. 51). In ornamental mouldings the Decorated, as its name indicates, is far more profuse than Early English. The designs also are much more natural, though they are never vulgar. The foliage on Decorated capitals is twined horizontally round the bell, instead of rising vertically as in Early English. The carving is shallower than in Early English, except in the earliest Decorated. The ball-flower occupies the same place in the conventional ornamentation of Decorated that the dog-tooth does



68.—DECORATED CAPITAL.

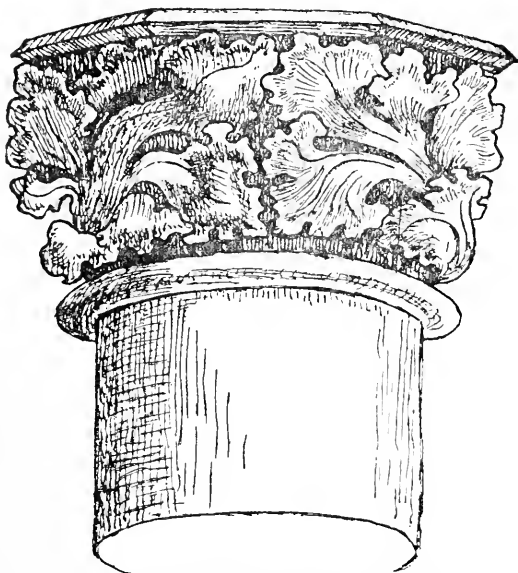
Notice the scroll-moulded astragal
and the abacus chamfered off
(a late sign).

in Early English. (fig. 50).

6. Transition Decorated is marked by the absence of the roll and fillet, and the increasing use of the wave-moulding and the ogee, especially the *double ogee* (fig. 59). In the Dec. double ogee, the convex part is greater than the concave; in the Perp. the convex and concave are equal (compare figs. 59 and 60).

7. Perpendicular mouldings: exhibit as a rule a marked falling off from the previous styles, though in important buildings very beautiful mouldings are still occasionally to be seen. As a rule, they carry still farther the tendency which has already begun in the late Dec. to shallow cutting. To save trouble seems to be their principle. The members are large and coarse, and hard wiry edges supersede the soft effects of Dec. One great mark of the style is a wide shallow hollow in the centre of a group of mouldings, called the *caretto* (fig. 61). The mouldings are nearly always *on the chamfer plane*, that is, instead of being recessed in *orders* as in the earlier styles, they are all on one slant. Small round bowtells are very much used. In arches, *continuous* mouldings, that is mouldings carried down to the ground without any capitals or columns, though found occasionally in all styles, are extremely common in Perp.; in pier arches, this is generally a sign

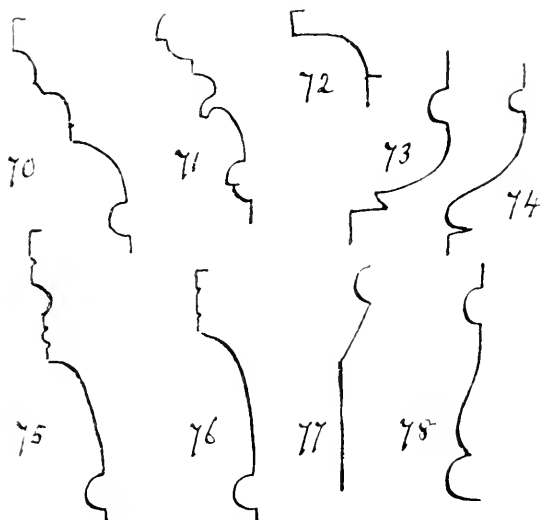
of late Perp. Perp. capitals are nearly always octangular, and the abacus is generally chamfered off at the top (fig. 55). In early Perp. and Transition Dec., a curve is used instead of a plain chamfer. In country churches, however, the abacus is often straight, and the mouldings may often be recognized as Perp. by their feebleness and clumsiness, or coarseness and clumsiness. The astragal is generally a plain ring, but a kind of debased scroll-moulding is also used. Perp. caps are generally taller than those of Dec. (figs. 55, 57). The Perp. base is composed of a roll above, generally followed by a bell-shaped slope; the bases have several stages, sloping off from one another, but never



69. PERPENDICULAR CAPITAL (EARLY).

From Halfpenny's "Illustrations of York Minster."

projecting as much as Dec. bases; the bell-shaped slope is often repeated (fig. 56). In country churches a much simpler base is generally used, consisting of a thick ring (sometimes absent) followed by a deep plain or hollow chamfer, or ogce, below; to be distinguished from the similar Dec. base described above only by its very slight projection (see figs. 77, 78). The plinths are nearly always octagonal. Foliated capitals are not very common in Perp.: when they occur, the foliage is twisted horizontally, or elapped on in patches; the carving is in flat relief, and has a tendency to squareness of form which is very characteristic of all the ornamental work of this style. The



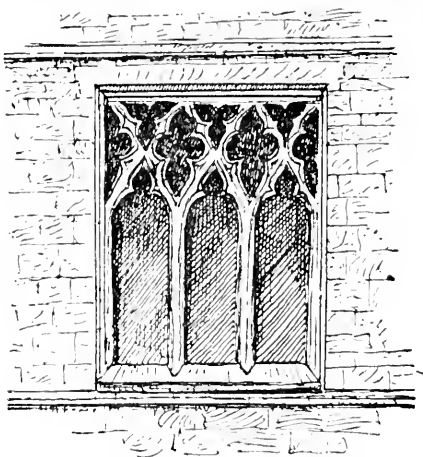
70—78. PROFILES OF COMMON BASES AND CAPITALS IN
COUNTRY CHURCHES.

70-72.—Decorated Capitals. 73, 74.—Dec. Bases. 75, 76.—Perpendicular Capitals. 77, 78.—Perp. Bases.

four petalled flower, (fig. 68) spaced at intervals, corresponds in Perp. to the Dec. ball flower.

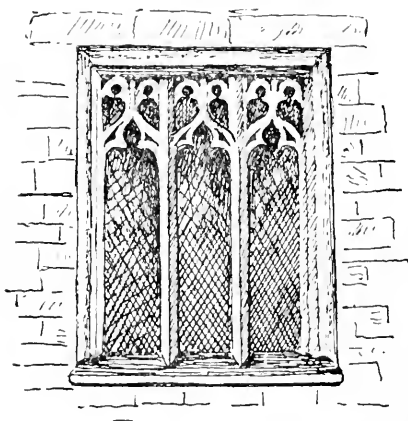
Both Rickman and Paley admit the difficulty which is often found in distinguishing the styles in the arcades of country churches, where little ornamentation is used, and where the details are so scanty as often to afford little or no clue. Frequently too, these details have been altered by repeated coats of white-wash, or even of plaster, or have been completely modified by the re-dressing of the stone which is unfortunately so common in modern restorations. The aisle arches of country churches are mostly without any mouldings but the plain chamfer, which occurs in all styles after the Norman. The student therefore must expect considerable perplexity at first; and I should recommend him always to draw in outline the profiles of the capitals and bases, in order to form a good collection for comparison. It is a help to know that round and octagonal pillars, placed alternately, are always a sign of Early English. Careful attention to the hints given above will, it is hoped, remove many difficulties from the beginner's path.* The greatest difficulty is to distinguish between Decorated and Perpendicular in single octagonal columns. The rule given above about the projection of the capitals and bases is often the only guide. It must be understood that the sketch (figs. 70—78) represents the extreme types of the two styles; there are countless intermediate forms. It will sometimes be found that a Perp. pillar has very bold projection in the capital, and very little in the base.

* I am indebted for many of these hints, which are not to be found in any architectural manual, to Mr. D. F. H. Cranage's (unpublished) lectures on architecture.



79

DECORATED SQUARE-HEADED WINDOW.



80

PERPENDICULAR SQUARE-HEADED WINDOW.

Often the only difference observable between Decorated and Perpendicular square windows is that in Perp. the mullions are carried straight up to the top.

CHAPTER VII.

NORMAN CASTLES.

Tickhill—Roger de Busli—Robert de Belesme—Sieges of Tickhill—
 Conisborough—Earl Warenne—Hamlyn Plantagenet—Richard
 Duke of York—The Earthworks—The Keep—Peak Castle—
 William Peverel—Henry II.—Bolsover Castle—Stormed in
 John's reign—Bess of Hardwick's House—The Ruins of the
 Cavendish House—The Earthwork—Castles and Social Life.

WE shall begin our architectural studies with the Norman castles of this neighbourhood, and we will take Tickhill first, because its earthworks being exactly on the same pattern as those described in Chapter V, it furnishes a transition from the earlier to the later type of castle.

Tickhill is one of the most interesting places to visit in the neighbourhood of Rotherham. Its splendid church* testifies at once to the former importance of what is now one of the quietest little villages in Yorkshire. Its population in Saxon times exceeded the average population of all the manors round, and as its right of market, which is still used, exists by prescription and not by charter, it

* See Chapter XIII.

probably descends from Saxon times.* It was situated near though not actually upon the line of Roman road (the Ermyrn Street) which ran from London to York through Lincoln and Doncaster, and which is famous in later history as the Great North Road. It appears to have been a great centre of trade between the West Riding and Bawtry, which was then a port on a navigable river. Hither came strings of pack-horses, bringing wool from the West Riding and lead from Derbyshire. The fact that there were no less than three ancient hospitals, as well as a Friary, in the town, is a proof of its importance in the middle ages. Domesday notices the church, the mill, and the citizens of Dadesley, which was the ancient name of Tickhill. But after the conquest Tickhill became the centre of an extensive domain which does not appear to have been under one hand before that time. "The Honour of Tickhill far exceeded the Honour of Conisborough in extent; it spread over no inconsiderable portion of five neighbouring counties."† Roger de Busli was the Norman noble who was invested with this wide domain, which contained more than 60 knights fees,‡ and included nearly the whole of the Yorkshire part of the district which forms the subject of this book; for in addition to what he held directly of the king, he held Sheffield, Attercliffe, and Hallam of the Countess Judith, the widow

* Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," p. 237.

† Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," p. 220.

‡ Ellis, Notes on Yorkshire tenants mentioned in Domesday—"Yorks. Arch. Journal," Vol. V. Ellis says that Roger came from Builly-en-Brai, near Neufchâtel in Normandy.

of Earl Waltheof.* Scarcely anything is known of this powerful noble, but he seems to have been some connection of William's queen Matilda, who is said to have given him the manor of Sandford, in Devonshire, *with his wife.*†

§1.—TICKHILL CASTLE.

Let us now visit the remains of the castle of Tickhill, which by the courtesy of the present tenant are generally open to the antiquarian visitor, on application. The ancient earthworks are the most important part of these remains. They are a splendid instance of the class of earthwork described in Chapter V. The general ground-plan resembles a figure of 8, of which the lower loop is much the larger; the great conical hillock, which is 60 feet high above the platform, being placed, as is so often the case, on the outer line of defences. It is doubtful whether it ever was ditched all round; if it was, the ditch between it and the bailey-court has been filled up; if it was not, the flight of stone steps by which the top of the mound is now reached may represent the original communication. One third of the mound is a natural hill, the rest is artificial. The platform, or bailey-court, as is usual in works of this type, is considerably raised above the land outside. Mound and platform are surrounded by a broad ditch, in great part of which the water is still flowing. On the counterscarp of the ditch there still remain portions of the ancient bank.

* Rotherham with Whiston, Treeton, and Handsworth, belonged to the Earl of Mortoune; Conisburgh to Earl Warrene, whose lands seem to have been very much mixed up with those of Roger de Busli.

† See Appendix, P.

I believe this earthwork to have been thrown up by Roger de Busli to protect himself from his unruly subjects, and that he also threw up the precisely similiar works at Laughton, Mexborough, and Bradfield, for the protection of his seneschals.* But if any one is disposed to maintain, with Mr. G. T. Clark, that these earthworks are of Anglo-Saxon origin, I am not in a position to disprove the assertion conclusively.† Mr. Clark believes that in all cases of this class, the Normans found the earthworks ready to hand, and built their stone walls and towers upon them; and this view appears to have been also that of Mr. Freeman, to some extent at least, though he admits that the Normans were throwing up works of this kind in Normandy in William's early days. Another school of antiquaries declares that the defensive works first constructed by the Normans were of earth, and that stone keeps were not introduced into England till the close of the Conqueror's reign.‡

Mr. Clark regards the Norman gatehouse, by which we enter the court of Tickhill Castle, as the original work of Roger de Busli. The remains of the keep, he admits,

* See the arguments adduced in Chapter V, and in Appendix, Notes L and M.

† Hunter thinks that the mention of *burgenses* denotes that a burh or castle existed at Dadesley before the Conquest. But this is very doubtful evidence: the word *burgensis* does not necessarily mean a dweller in a *fortified* town. And it seems to me that the change from a name which laid stress on the *lea* (Dadesley) to a name which laid stress on the *hill*, (Tickhill) makes for the Norman origin of the mound at any rate.

‡ See Parker on the Architecture of the Eleventh Century, in "Archæolog. Journal," Vol. XXX.

look much later. The Norman work in the gatehouse consists of that part of the lower storey which contains the two round arches of the entrance. Its excellent masonry certainly suggests a later date than the earliest Norman period. Now it is stated by Ordericus that Robert de Belesme, one of the successors of Roger de Busli, whose immediate heirs did not long remain in possession of his estates, *fortified* the castle of Tickhill in the year 1101. Is it not likely that we have here the true date of the construction of the stone fortifications of Tickhill?

Of the castle itself there is now nothing to be seen, so completely has it been transformed into a modern house. But the old Norman curtain wall which stands upon the earthwork still remains almost perfect. This curtain has been carried up the hillock to about two thirds of its height.* A *chemin de ronde* goes round it on the outside, and is carried across the entrance by a bridge. The stone-keep, which was placed on top of the mound, has been levelled to its foundations, but these remain, and shew that it was decagonal in form. This would seem to indicate that it was not one of the earliest Norman keeps, which were generally square.

Returning to the gatehouse, we must notice that the original Norman work has undergone many alterations. There was no portecullis to the Norman entrance, so a front was added to it in the Decorated period, with a pointed arch, and in this a portecullis was placed. Inside

* This is frequently the case when the ditch has not been carried all round the hillock.

the gatehouse a doorway has been set up which Mr. Clark thinks has once belonged to the chapel of the castle. The oak door outside, with the inscription "Peace and grace be to this place," is of the time of James I.*

Tickhill castle has figured in many important scenes in English history. The Robert of Belesme mentioned above, who held the castle in Henry I's time, and may have been the builder of its stone defences, was one of the worst of Norman nobles. He was the head of the resistance which these nobles offered to the attempts of Henry I to bridle their lawlessness. When he broke out in open rebellion, the native English stood by Henry, and it was mainly owing to their loyalty that Belesme was quickly overcome.† His castle of Tickhill was besieged and taken by the bishop of Lincoln, at the head of the English forces of the shire. After this, Henry I kept it in his own hands; and it continued in the possession of the crown for the rest of its existence, with occasional short intervals in which it was held by subjects. Eleanor, queen of Henry II, founded a collegiate church for four prebendaries, within the castle walls. Richard I unwisely gave the castle to John, and it held out for John during his rebellion with great obstinacy. John, when king, visited Tickhill at least six times. The castle was besieged for three weeks in the reign of Edward II by the rebellious party of Earl Thomas of Lancaster. Many persons were

* See the description of Tickhill in Mr. Clark's "Mediæval Military Architecture," to which I am much indebted.

† See the account of Ordericus Vitalis, p. 768.

slain, Earl Thomas having brought a machine for throwing great stones on the castle. But the siege was raised by the king, who advanced with a superior force. In 1372 it was given to John of Gaunt (whose arms are on the tower of Tickhill church) and as an appanage of his duchy of Lancaster it reverted to the crown on the accession of Henry IV.

The last and most interesting scene in its history took place during the Great Rebellion, when the castle was defended for Charles I by the Hansby family. While the Earl of Manchester's head quarters were at Doncaster, "he sent 200 dragoons under Colonel Lilburn to quarter at Tickhill, where was a strong castle, which was palisadoed and environed with a broad moat and a counterscarp, in which were 80 musketeers and a troop of horse, armed, which did great oppression and injury to the country thereabout, both by laying heavy burthens and taxes on them, and which did much interrupt the trade and transport of cloth from Leeds, Halifax, and other parts, to Bawtry; their horse also frequently bringing in 20, 30, 40 horse at a time, loaden with cloth; which oftentimes upon a payment of 20/- the horse-load, they again released."† The Parliamentary Colonel held a parley with the commander of the castle, who agreed to surrender it. And so the next Friday afternoon the Earl of Manchester rode over from Doncaster with "a brave troop of horse" to receive the surrender of Tickhill castle. The alarm was sounded at the gate, the draw-bridge lowered,

† Vicar's "Parliamentary Chronicle," quoted at length by Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," II, p. 235.

and the garrison marched out with the captains and their ladies, the Earl "having given strict charge to our dragoons not to offer offence in the least measure by word or deed to the soldiers who were to pass by them." And amongst the "brave troop of horse" who then entered the castle, and "gave solemn thanks to God there for giving us that place of so much concernment upon such easy terms, and without the loss of one drop of blood," was the greatest man Tickhill has ever seen within her walls—Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

Not long after this Tickhill was "sleighted" or made untenable by the Parliament, and its history as a fortress was ended.

§2.—CONISBOROUGH CASTLE.

Conisborough, as its name clearly shows,* was once a *burh* or stronghold of an English king. We do not hear, however, of its being in royal hands before the days of King Harold Godwinson. The first mention of it is in the will of Wulfrie Spot, a minister of King Ethelred, at the beginning of the eleventh century.† He bequeathed lands at Conisborough to one Ælfred. William the Conqueror gave the estate to the great Earl Warenne, who married his daughter Gundreda. Warenne's granddaughter and heiress married Hamelyn Plantagenet, son of Geoffrey of Anjou and his wife Matilda daughter of

* Coningesboro in Domesday: Conuzesbury in the will of Wulfrie Spot.

† This document, which contains notices of lands in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Notts., is printed in "Dugdale's Monasticon," I, 266.

Henry I, and thus a half-brother of Henry II. In the reign of Henry III the castle became the property of the crown, and Edward III gave it to his son Edmund Langley, afterwards duke of York. Richard, duke of York, who was slain at the battle of Wakefield in the wars of the Roses, was born at Conisborough, and is sometimes called in history Richard of Conisborough; he was the father of King Edward IV. Through him the castle again became crown property, and continued to be so until James II gave it to the earl of Dover, from whose family it passed to that of the duke of Leeds, its present owner.*

In spite of the connection of Conisborough castle with the illustrious families of Warenne, Plantagenet and York, it has played no important part in English history, and there is no record of its ever having stood a siege. The legends which make Conisborough the scene of a battle between the Saxon Hengist and Aurelius Ambrosianus may be dismissed as pure inventions. Equally fictitious is the ascription of the present keep with its oratory to Saxon times in Sir Walter Scott's "*Ivanhoe*." It is quite certain that not a stone of the present buildings is of Saxon date.

The earthworks of Conisborough Castle may not appear at a first glance to be of the same class as those described in Chapter V, but a closer inspection will show that they also have consisted of a large hillock surrounded by a

* V. Clark's "*Mediæval and Military Architecture*," Vol. I, p. 431, for a very full description and history of Conisborough Castle.

ditch, with a lower ward or bailey-court attached to it, which has also been banked and ditched; only in this case the hillock is three or four times the usual size. The bailey-court is probably never noticed by ninety-nine out of a hundred visitors to Conisborough, who cross it between the road and the hillock; but its ditch and bank are perfect on the S.W. side, and may be traced nearly all round it. If this ward ever had any buildings upon it, they must have been of wood, but it may have been intended merely as a place of safety for cattle. Crossing this ward, we reach the great ditch which surrounds the hillock, and which is still flanked on its counterscarp, for the greater part of its extent, by an enormous earthen bank. These earthworks are of course believed by Mr. Clark to be of Anglian origin; yet as he admits that no part of the present masonry on the mound is of the time of Earl Warenne, there is room for the theory that the earthworks were Norman, here, as at Tickhill. Certainly the name of the place as the king's burh would lead us to expect that there was some kind of defensive work here in Anglo-Saxon times; unfortunately we do not know with certainty what Anglo-Saxon fortifications were.

The mound, on which the castle stands, is a natural knoll of rock and gravel, which has been artificially scarped, and now rises 60 feet above its ditch. Crossing the ditch at the point where it is now filled up, where once the draw-bridge swung, we enter a kind of gatehouse, formed of two parallel walls, which pass up the bank in a slanting direction, and defend the approach to the castle. On the top of the mound there is nothing left now but the

curtain wall and the keep; but the traces of plaster on the walls shew that there were many apartments here, and it may be regarded as certain that the hall, the kitchen, the chapel, and all the principal living rooms of the castle in the *later* mediæval period, stood on what is now the level sward of the inner ward. The curtain wall is of rubble, formerly faced with ashlar, some of which remains in places. It has five solid half round turrets. Mr. Clark pronounces it to be late Norman in style, and thinks that it was probably the work of the third of the Warennes, between 1138 and 1148. It has been repaired in the 13th century with inferior work, much of which has fallen down; Mr. Clark attributes the solid round turrets on the S. and W. sides to this restoration.

The Keep of Conisborough is perhaps the finest in England, and on the continent only Coucy, according to Mr. Clark, surpasses it. It is of cylindrical form, with six boldly projecting buttresses. The masonry is admirable. The door, for purposes of defence, is placed 20 feet above the ground, and was probably approached in ancient times by a wooden stair which could be easily removed. The first floor has no window at all, and was probably intended not for a dungeon, but for a storehouse for provisions in case of siege. So was the basement room below it, the only access to which was by a hole through the first floor. In the centre of this cellar is the well, which is now choked up, and which of course is made the subject of a legend about an underground passage. A stair in the thickness of the wall, of truly splendid masonry (notice the vaulting) leads to the second floor, the chief apartment

of the keep. It retains its beautiful fire-place, having a stone hood supported by three columns with beautifully carved capitals. On the right hand of the door is a small lavatory basin fixed in the wall. The room was lit by one large window; the stone window-seats still remain. The wooden floors of the rooms are all gone; we have therefore to climb round a narrow ledge to reach the stair-case on the opposite side of this chamber which leads to the third storey. This room has also a beautiful fire-place, and a basin in the wall, under a trefoil head. It was doubtless the sleeping-room of the lord or seneschal of the castle in Plantagenet times.* Out of it opens a most beautiful little oratory, highly decorated in the late Norman style. It is lit by two round windows ornamented with balls on the cusps, and by one narrow loop-window to the East. It has two trefoil-headed piscinas. The carved stone bosses at the groinings of the arches are unusual in Norman work. From this storey the staircase is continued up to what formerly were the ramparts of the tower. Here, the six buttresses of the keep formerly rose as turrets above the parapet wall. The one to the S. contains an oven; those to the N. and N. E. contain what are supposed to be cisterns. The other remaining buttress is supposed by Mr. Clark to have been a pigeon-house. He conjectures that a guard-room stood on the roof of the keep, with an open walk round it.†

The whole of the keep is in very late Norman style, and is supposed by Mr. Clark to be the work of Hamelyn

* See Appendix, Note Q.

† See his suggested restoration of the keep, in "Mediæval Military Architecture," I, 446.

Plantagenet, who was a very important man in his day, high in the favour of Richard I, and who appears to have spent most of his time in England. He married the heiress of Conisborough in 1163; and the keep has every sign of having been built not long after this date.

We have in the keep of Conisborough a complete miniature fortress, with storage for provisions, a well, storage for rain water in case of the failure of the well, provision for the comfort of lords and ladies, and a chapel for their spiritual welfare. It is noticeable that no one could come down from the post of guard on the roof without crossing the rooms of the commander, who thus kept a constant eye on his garrison.

It is very satisfactory that steps have lately been taken by the present owner to prevent the further ruin of this splendid tower.

§3.—PEAK CASTLE.

The Peak Castle at Castleton is a little outside the limit which I have chosen for this book, but it and the other antiquities of Castleton are so frequently visited from Sheffield and Rotherham that I have thought it well to include them. Peak Castle has no earthworks, probably for the simple reason that stone was much more easy to get than earth on that rocky hill side. There is nothing left of the castle now but the bailey wall, the keep, and a very small fragment of the gatehouse; but there are traces of foundations in the N. W. corner of the ward. The bailey wall (which has three towers) is much the oldest

part of the ruins; in the southern piece, over the precipice, there is some herring-bone work, which is common in Norman work of the eleventh century. We may therefore fairly suppose that this is the original work of William Peverel, whom Mr. Freeman calls "a Norman adventurer of unknown origin," to whom the Conqueror gave large estates in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.* A castle is mentioned in Domesday as already existing here.

The Keep is square, built of limestone rubble, faced with good ashlar of millstone grit, which must have been brought from a great distance. It has been rudely repaired with limestone in modern times. Tall pilaster shafts once decorated the angles; two of them remain at the S. E. and S. W. corners, and one still retains its scalloped capital. On the W. side the remains of three flat Norman buttresses are still to be seen. There have been three rooms, one over the other; the arrangement was probably the same as at Conisborough, a cellar for storage, a room for the men, a room for the ladies, a room on the top for the guards and the cooking. The rooms have no fireplaces, and must have been very comfortless. They have been lit by fair-sized windows; one of them still retains marks of decoration by corbel heads on the outside.

Mr. Freeman calls this castle, perched as it is on the edge of a perpendicular cliff, "the true vulture's nest of a robber knight."† The Peak Castle was one of three which

* "This is the William Peverel whom an utterly uncertified and almost impossible scandal calls a natural son of the Conqueror." Freeman, "Norman Conquest," IV, p. 200. See also *Ib.* Vol. III, App. N, p. 656.

† *Ib.* p. 201.

William the Conqueror gave to William Peverel in 1068, the others being Bolsover and Nottingham. Along with these castles came a gift of broad lands, which in accordance with the far-sighted policy of the Conqueror were scattered in several different counties, lest the favoured noble should grow too powerful. Forty-four lordships in Northamptonshire, two in Essex, two in Oxfordshire, two in Bedfordshire, fifty-five in Nottinghamshire, and six in Derbyshire, went to form the Honour of Peverel. It did not long remain in his house, for the second William Peverel was accused of having poisoned the earl of Chester, and thus incurred the vengeance of Henry II. That monarch, one of the ablest of our kings, was only too glad of an excuse for confiscating Peverel's castles of the Peak, Bolsover, and Nottingham, since it was part of his policy to get into his own hands the castles which had been the cause of so much anarchy in the reign of Stephen. Henry II visited Peak Castle in 1157 and in 1163. It was held against John by the Barons in 1216. After that episode, it remained in the possession of the Crown to the present day, though occasionally given in custody to various nobles; it is now leased to the Duke of Devonshire. An instance is recorded in the reign of Henry IV which shows what acts of tyranny the lords of castles occasionally exercised; one Godfrey Rowland, "a poor and simple squire of the county of Derby," was carried off from his house at Mickle Longsdon, his house pillaged, and himself kept for six days in Peak Castle without meat or drink, then sent adrift with his right hand cut off.†

† Rot. Parl. III, 518.

In the western side of the wall of the keep, there is apparently a sallyport "which must have communicated with the ground below by means of a ladder." On the E. side at a considerable height from the ground is a doorway under a double arch, by which access was gained to the first floor. In the inside wall of the cellar are remains of something which looks like herring-bone work, and may have belonged to an earlier building. The present entrance is only a breach in the wall. In the N. E. angle are the remains of the newel staircase. Mr. Hartshorne thinks the keep was built by Henry II, as there are accounts in the Pipe Rolls of £46 10s. and £49 (the latter for the building of a chamber in Peak Castle) in the years 1173 and 1177.*

The account of Peak Castle in Sir Walter Scott's "Peveril of the Peak" is singularly misleading, and shows he can never have visited the spot.

§4.—BOLSOVER CASTLE.

This lordship also formed part of the domain of William Peverel. A castle was built here in Norman times, but nothing remains of it now, unless parts of the bailey wall, which now surround a garden, are of that date. It is obvious however that we have here the usual Norman features of the keep with the bailey-court attached. The present castle was built in the reign of Elizabeth by the celebrated Bess of Hardwick, of whom we have already

* See a paper by C. H. Hartshorne on Peverel's Castle in the Peak. "Archæolog. Journal," Vol. V, p. 207.

spoken in the first chapter of this book. It is stated* that the original Norman foundations of the bailey wall can still be seen from the shrubbery walk which runs round the foot of the ramparts on the outside; and that the castle of Bess of Hardwick is not only built on the foundations of the Norman castle, but that the lower portions of the ground storey have been preserved, encased in new masonry, while on the first storey the pillars of the great hall and drawing-room, and the vaulted stone roofs "have been carefully replaced as they existed in the original structure." The square form of the present house makes it not unlikely that it is built on the foundations of a Norman shell keep.

Bolsover Castle was forfeited to the crown, as we have said, in the reign of Henry II. As the chief key to the wild district of Derbyshire, Bolsover was a very important fortress. Richard I gave it, along with Peak Castle, to his brother John as a wedding present. It was stormed by the Barons during their war against John; but this is the only military experience which is recorded of the first castle. In the reign of Henry VI it was given to the Tudor family, and thus again became crown property at the accession of Henry VII. Edward VI granted it to George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who afterwards married Bess of Hardwick.

Bolsover had ceased to be important as a fortress, in the peaceful days of the Tudors, and had become much

* By the Rev. J. Hamilton Gray, a former tenant of the castle, in a little pamphlet entitled "Bolsover Castle."

dilapidated. The house which the Countess of Shrewsbury built is in everything but its minor details a modern house, and so does not call for description here. But its fine defensive situation, and the good bailey wall on which it stood, encouraged the Marquis of Newcastle, a descendant of Bess, who held the castle in Charles I's reign, to attempt to defend it against the Parliament. The attempt was foolish, for it could not hold out a day against cannon, in spite of its being "well manned and fortified with great guns and strong works."

The ruins which stand to the S. of the castle are those of a splendid mansion, begun by Sir Charles Cavendish, and finished by his son, the Marquis of Newcastle spoken of above. In this house the Marquis entertained Charles I with great splendour in 1633, and Ben Jonson's masque *Lore's Welcome* was composed for this occasion, and performed in front of the house. Why such a magnificent house was ever allowed to be ruined is a mystery; but it was deliberately wrecked in 1740 by an obscure countess to whom it then belonged, who took the lead off the roof. The great riding-school which stands close to the entrance of the bailey court is another work of the Marquis of Newcastle.

Outside the village of Bolsover is an earthwork, consisting of a high bank with a deep ditch on the outside, walling off the little peninsula on which the village is built. It is in good condition still in parts, and undoubtedly is the remains of the ancient defences of the town, when the town was much more important than it is now. Many mediæval towns were only defended by earthen

ramparts ; we know that Doncaster was. But the date of this earthwork we do not attempt to determine.

The picturesque site of Bolsover, the view from its walls, the charm of its ancient garden, the quaintness of the town, where some very old houses still remain (particularly the Swan Inn) make it one of the most interesting objects of an excursion from Rotherham or Sheffield. The church also contains a good deal of interest (see Chapter XIII).

The castles which I have just described belong to the Norman or Transition-Norman period. The round, square, or polygonal keep, standing on the edge of a bailey court, continued to be the prevailing type of an English castle for 150 years after the Norman conquest.* The later keeps of this style are known, says Mr. G. T. Clarke, "by the increased depth of the pilasters, which became buttresses ; sometimes by their improved and fine-jointed ashlar ; by a more frequent use of the stone of the district, instead of that brought from Caen ; by the presence of ribs upon the groins of the hip-vaulting of the galleries and mural chambers ; by the use of nook-shafts at the exterior angles ; by the greater tendency to ornament about the rib-bosses, door-cases, window recesses, and fire-places ; and by the more or less Early English character of such ornamentation."

* Clark, "Mediæval Military Architecture in England," I, 147. In some exceptional instances the keep is placed in the centre of the bailey-court.

Although only four castles remain in the district we are now investigating, there were also castles at Sheffield,* Worksop,† Doncaster,‡ and Chesterfield. These castles played an important part in the social life of our forefathers. They were the local centres of that feudal system of land-holding in whose web all classes of society were more or less immeshed. All who held land held it on some condition of feudal service; the more distinguished tenants held by military service, while the villeins had to pay their rents in work. Castle-guard, that is the duty of regular service on guard in the castle, was a burden always laid on the holders of certain lands. Before the commutation of services for money payments, the landholders of mediæval times derived no money from rents; rents were only paid in services, or in contributions in kind. The sources from which they derived money were their *sokes* of various kinds. The soke was primarily the district within which the lord had the right of administering justice in his court; and the proceeds of the fines inflicted in this court were an important part of his revenue. But his mill also had its soke, and all his tenants were bound to take their corn to be ground there, or to pay their dues whether they took it there or not.§ Even his oven had the same right of soke, and the tenants within a certain area had to bring their bread to be baked there. There were innumerable exactions which a grasping lord could work to squeeze his tenantry. Yet except during the brief period

* See page 6.

† See page 57.

‡ Doncaster Castle was partly on the site of the present church; the ditches and the foundations of the walls were visible in Leland's time.

§ Eden, "History of the Poor," I, 18-26.

of anarchy during Stephen's wars, when the country lived under a reign of terror, and the most horrible cruelties were committed by the lords of castles, we do not find from English history that there was anything like the tyranny and extortion here on the part of the great land-holders that there was on the continent. There was always a strong royal authority in England to hold the nobles in check.

Each of these castles contained a self-sufficing industrial settlement; for every country house in ancient times not only did its own cooking, baking and washing, which is more than most middle-class houses undertake at the present day, but it did its own brewing, meat-salting, spinning, weaving, tailoring, leather-dressing, upholstering; it had its carpenter's work-shop and its smithy, besides all the apparatus of a farm and stables. The accommodation for these various arts and crafts was probably provided, at the period when the type of castle which we are now describing prevailed, in wooden buildings within the bailey court. The principal of these was a great wooden hall, where all this multitude of artisans, servants, and men at arms had their meals, in company with the lord and his family, and where they also slept at night. Such halls had been the prevailing type of a great man's residence in Anglo-Saxon times. It is probable that Norman keeps like that of Conisborough, which belonged only to very distinguished nobles, mark an attempt on the part of certain great Norman lords to live a life of greater privacy; perhaps they did not quite trust themselves among the crowd of their English retainers

and dependents. We shall see in the next chapter that these great keeps went out of use in the 13th century, when the blending of Normans and Englishmen was complete.

The castle was not only the military and economic centre of a district, it was also its most distinguished school; a school not indeed of letters, but of manners and refinement. Well-born youths, throughout the middle ages, were sent to the household of some noble or great ecclesiastic to learn the manners of a gentleman and the exercises of a knight. In the castle they had the refining influence of ladies' society, and the stimulating company of a number of young people of their own age. They passed a seven years' apprenticeship as pages, and even after they had become squires they still performed most of the duties which at the present day devolve upon servants. They made the beds, laid the table, served the dishes, carved the meat, brought water for the guests to wash their hands, dressed and undressed their lord, and looked after his horses.* No personal service for a man of noble birth was deemed degrading. Girls also were received into feudal households, and their services in spinning, weaving, and sewing, which were superintended by the lady of the castle, were very valuable. It was in the feudal castle that the home life, an institution so precious to modern civilization, was first developed.

* See Lyttleton's "History of Henry II," Vol. II; Wright's "History of Domestic Manners;" St. Palaye's "Memoirs sur la Chevalerie."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COUNTRY HOUSE.

The Edwardian Castles—The Anglo-Saxon Hall—The Baronial Hall—The Hall superseded—Tudor Houses—Haddon Hall—The Chapel.

IN the reign of Henry III great improvements were introduced into domestic architecture, and into the general style of living, one consequence of which was that the cramped and comfortless Norman keeps were given up as places of living, and it became customary to build a more spacious hall and chambers within the bailey court of the king's or noble's castle.* It is remarkable that in surveys of the reign of Henry III and Edward I these keeps are commonly described as being in a ruinous condition. That type of castle was abandoned in the reign of Edward I, and was succeeded by what is generally known as the Edwardian castle, which has no keep, but is concentric in plan, consisting of an inner court, surrounded by walls and towers, and by an outer court, similarly defended. There are no Edwardian castles in our district; they are to be seen best in Wales, at such places as Beaumaris, Caernarvon, or Harlech. The tower

* See Turner, "History of Domestic Architecture," Vol. I. See also Appendix, Note Q.

of London, the kernel of which was built by the Conqueror, was converted into a concentric castle at this period.

These castles shew the advance which social life was making, by the fine halls and kitchens which they contain. Norman keeps do not contain kitchens, and it would appear that the simple cookery of that period was carried on either in the open air, or on the roof of the keep, as at Conisborough, where an oven yet remains on the roof. But now castles began to contain a great number of rooms intended for various purposes. Above all, the multiplication of bedrooms marks a great advance in civilization.

The country-house or hall went through the same evolution as the castle. One large hall, both in Saxon and Norman times, had been the chief feature of the house. Such other rooms as were required, such as a kitchen, a chapel, a ladies' room or *bower*, were in the first instance separate buildings, all surrounded by the same wooden wall or earthwork. These out-buildings were usually of wood, and even as late as the 15th century it was more common to build the barns and stables of wood than of stone. A great fire burnt in the middle of the floor on a stone hearth, the smoke escaping through a louvre in the roof. At meal times, tables on trestles were arranged down each side of the hall, which were afterwards removed; but the table for the lord and lady and the more distinguished inmates or guests was laid on the dais at the upper end of the hall, which was boarded and raised two steps above the other part. In the 12th

century the space below the dais was not generally paved, and was sometimes called *the marsh*, and Turner says "it was doubtless dirty and damp enough to deserve that name."* Later on flags were used to pave it, and at the end of the 13th century, tiles. At night the company slept on benches at the sides of the hall, which were sometimes curtained off to afford a little privacy. The principal change which took place in the 12th century was that a chamber was now added to the hall as a sleeping-apartment for the master of the house. This chamber was sometimes built on the second storey above the hall, and was then called a *solar*. So late as the close of the 13th century we have an account of a house built for Edward I at Woolmer in Hampshire, which was built on this simple plan.† It consisted of an upper chamber with two chimneys, a chapel, a hall, a kitchen, and a small garden for the queen's use.

Towards the end of the 14th century the custom began to creep in of the lord and lady dining apart in a private chamber, a custom which is alluded to and condemned in the poem of Piers Ploughman. But in spite of much opposition the custom took root, and by the reign of Henry VIII it became fully established, and not only the private dining room, but the *withdrawing* room to which the ladies withdrew after dinner, were added to every well-to-do house. The great hall therefore was gradually lost as the modern house came into existence. Large

* Turner, "History of Domestic Architecture," I, 93.

† *Ib.* p. 60.

halls were still built sometimes, even as late as the reign of Elizabeth, but they are exceptional, and no longer occupy so large a share of the building as they formerly did.*

There were many reasons for the decay of the hall, besides the development of a refined caste. In the preceding chapter I have mentioned that every castle or country-house in the early middle ages, was a self-supporting industrial settlement; so that every rich man, besides his armed retainers, had a great company of artisans and servants of all kinds who fed in his hall. But the development of an industrial class, which took place in England in the 13th and still more in the two following centuries, rendered it unnecessary for all these arts to be carried on at home, and it was found cheaper and less troublesome to employ tradesmen. The hosts of armed retainers also dwindled away after the establishment of the Tudor dynasty. Thus the company in the hall was diminished to the domestic servants; for the farm labourers, as peace became more and more the rule in England, preferred to live in homes of their own, rather than under the shelter of the castle or manor.

There were many fine castles built in England as late as the 14th century, but after the establishment of a strong and settled government under the Tudors, castle-building gradually went out of use. Instead of castles, splendid country-houses were now built, and these country-houses began to lose those features of fortification which

* Turner, "History of Domestic Architecture," III, 19.

had marked the country-houses of earlier times. In districts which were liable to disturbance, such as the Scotch or Welsh borders, we find the military type surviving to a much later period; and it has many survivals in England in which the defensive features seem to be retained merely from custom, or for show. But in the peaceful days of Elizabeth, these fortifying additions were dropped altogether, and the country-house pure and simple without moat, earthwork, bailey wall or donjon tower, became the type of a great man's residence.

There are no old halls of any importance in the Sheffield and Rotherham district which are shown to the public.* But just outside our limits there is one of such surpassing beauty and interest that I must give a short account of it here, especially as it affords one of the most frequent excursions from the neighbourhood of Sheffield, besides being visited by travellers from all parts of the world. It furnishes moreover a concrete illustration of the gradual evolution of a country house, and on this account alone would merit a careful description. I allude of course to Haddon Hall, near Bakewell.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, Haddon was only a *berewick* or farm, subordinate to the Manor of Bakewell.

* Part of Broom Hall, near Sheffield, is said to be not later than the time of Henry VIII. Carbrook Hall, near Attercliffe has a fine carved chimney-piece still preserved in a wainscotted room; it is now a public house. There is an interesting old timbered house at Norton Lees. The Hall at the Ponds, in Sheffield, is an old half-timbered house, said to have been the laundry of the Castle. See Gatty's edition of Hunter's "Hallamshire," where several of these places are engraved.

It was not therefore the early seat of a great Norman proprietor, and there are not, as far as I am aware, any traces of earthworks round the present hall. Early in the 12th century however, Haddon appears to have become the residence of a wealthy family, and it passed by marriage into the hands of Richard de Vernon, a scion of the Norman Vernons, who in 1199 obtained from John a license (still in the possession of the Duke of Rutland) to fortify his house of Haddon with a wall 12 feet high, without battlements. Haddon is therefore not a castle, but an early instance of a fortified house.

Portions of the chapel, of the walls of the S. front, and of the N.E. or Peverel tower, are the work of the 12th century, and it is remarkable that they seem to indicate that the ancient ground-plan of Haddon occupied as much land as the present one. We can hardly believe however that a mere country gentleman of the 12th century would build for himself a house on so large a scale as the present house of Haddon, in a style far beyond the simple requirements of the 12th century. It seems far more likely that the portions of walls which remain formed part of an enclosing bailey wall round a large court in which the first buildings of the lord of Haddon stood, and that in consequence the first Haddon Hall resembled in plan a late Norman castle, with stone walls and no earthworks, to which the Peverel tower stood in the position of a keep. This is merely conjecture; what is certain is that the buildings which now divide the bailey into two courts are not earlier than the beginning of the 14th century. These buildings are the great hall and kitchen and the offices depending on them.

The hall is entered by a pointed archway, and then by doors through the fine panelled screen of oak, above which is the minstrels' gallery. These minstrels' galleries were introduced in the 14th century; they gave architectural expression to a very ancient custom, the minstrels' song having accompanied the banquet in the earliest times. On the bench in the porch is placed a Roman altar which was dug up in the grounds many years ago. The hall is lit by a large window of early Dec. style. At the upper end of the hall is the dais, where the lord and his family sat, the place of honour or *high seat* being not at the end of the table, as at present, but in the middle.* The old oak table which has served at so many banquets still stands on the dais, but it does not look older than the 17th century. Trestle tables, which could more easily be removed, were more commonly used in the middle ages. The large kitchen, with its two great fire-places, and its apparatus of larders, pantries, bakehouse, salting room, chopping block, salting trough, &c., seems to have been intended for a vast scale of hospitality.† The growing refinement of the times is shown in the rooms which were added in the 15th century, the private dining room, and the drawing room over it. These are among the most beautiful rooms in Haddon. The wainscoting and fittings of the dining room date from between 1430 and 1470, and

* If the reader will carefully read the banquet scene in *Macbeth*, he will see that this was the arrangement in Shakespere's time. It has not been observed in Mr. Irving's reproduction of *Macbeth*, with considerable loss to the effect of the scene.

† There is an older kitchen and bakehouse among the buildings on the N. side of the second court.

in the panelled recess of the oriel window are the heads of Henry VII and his queen. The arms over the fire-place are dated 1545. The drawing room is hung with tapestry, and above it is a frieze of pargetting work. There is an extremely beautiful pair of brass fire-dogs in the grate; two similar ones may be seen in the room misnamed the Chaplain's room, near the entrance.

Even these rooms did not satisfy the increasing taste for domestic splendour which characterised Elizabeth's reign; so the Long Gallery, or Ball-room was added, a magnificent specimen of Elizabethan architecture. The arms of Manners and Vernon, which appear all over the room,* show that it was built by Sir John Manners, the husband of the celebrated Dorothy, whose elopement is the chief legend of the place. At the end of the hall, in a glass case, is the striking death-mask of Lady Grace Manners, daughter-in-law of John and Dorothy.† The State Bedroom contains a magnificent specimen of ancient needlework, in the embroidered hangings of the bed; it is considered to be of the 15th century. The bedroom is stated to have been occupied by Elizabeth, but Elizabeth never travelled so far north as Derbyshire in her life.

Underneath this range of buildings (on the E. side of the upper court) are some much older rooms, in one of which is preserved an ancient wooden rack for stringing bows and cross-bows. Besides the rooms ordinarily shewn

* The Manners crest is a peacock, the Vernons a boar's head.

† For the monuments of the Vernon and Manners family in Bakewell church, see Chapter XIII.

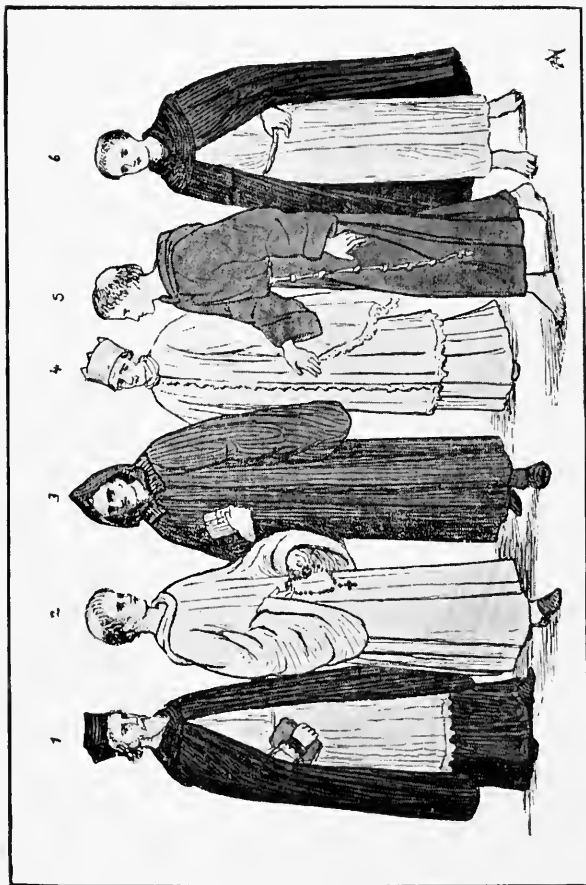
to visitors, Haddon contains a labyrinth of other rooms, some of which are hung with excellent tapestry. The tower contains a room which would have served as a guardroom, and the house could easily have been defended before the days of cannon. The walls are seven feet thick in the arched warder's room under the Peverel tower. The chief entrance is through a gateway of early Perpendicular work.

Except a few repairs, there have been no additions to Haddon since 1624.* The *Chapel* has considerable interest, as it has preserved an unusual quantity of ancient stained glass, and retains also the stone altar slabs of both the high altar and the chantry. The S. aisle, which contains this chantry, is the oldest part of the hall, being probably of the reign of Henry II; but all the existing remains of 12th century work are a late Norman pillar with a scalloped capital, much cut away, the base of a Transition or Early English respond, and four lancet windows. The font may also be Norman work. The North aisle belongs to the Decorated period, and so do the portions of the ancient rood-screen, now used as pews in the chancel. The rest of the chapel is chiefly Perpendicular, the music gallery being of the reign of Elizabeth. The glass of the East window bears an inscription dating it in 1427.† The roof is dated 1624, and a good deal of

* For the above description of Haddon, I am chiefly indebted to the account by Messrs. S. C. Hall and L. Jewitt, published in "Stately Homes of England," and to Turner's "History of Domestic Architecture," Vol. III, and (for the chapel) to Cox's "Notes on Derbyshire churches."

† The window glass was much more perfect 50 years ago, when an extraordinary robbery destroyed much of its beauty.

the woodwork is of the same date. There is a remarkable holy-water stoup on the right hand of the doorway, a feature very seldom preserved. There are some curious remains of painting on the walls. A fine old vestment chest stands against the W. wall.



- 81.—1. AUGUSTINIAN CANON (Black Canon.)
 2. CISTERCIAN MONK (White Monk.)
 3. BENEDICTINE MONK (Black Monk.)
 4. PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANON (White Canon.)
 5. FRANCISCAN FRIAR (Grey Friar.)
 6. DOMINICAN FRIAR (Black Friar.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH AND MONASTICISM.

Roman Authority in England—The Church and Daily Life—The Christianity of the Middle Ages—The great Purgatory Trade—Asceticism—The Monasteries—The Benedictines—Cistercians, Franciscans, and Dominicans—The Failure of Monasticism—Religious Houses in this District—Hospitals—Ecclesfield Priory—Walling Wells Nunnery—Bretton Priory—Hampole Nunnery—Richard Rolle—Doncaster Convents and Hospital—Tickhill—Canons—Premonstratensian and Augustinian—Worksop Priory—Beauchief Abbey—The Puritan Reformation.

WE have outlined the history of architectural development in England; but before we visit the buildings which are to be found in our district we must have a key to the great governing factors of the middle ages to which these remains bear witness; the Mediæval Church and Monasticism.

The church of England in the middle ages was of course in dependent union with the church of Rome. It would be unnecessary to insist upon this, were it not that many and persistent attempts have been made of late years to prove that there existed in the middle ages an Anglican church which was independent of Rome, and that the Reformation was only an assertion of that

independence against new claims put forward by Rome. Such attempts to pervert history are shattered by one simple fact; the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the heads of the English church, did not regard themselves as fully archbishops until they had received from the pope the *pallium*, a consecrated woollen collar which was the sign of metropolitan dignity; and before they could receive it they had to take a very stringent oath of obedience to the pope.* The pope's authority over the English church was only limited by the authority of the king, who generally made the best fight he could to be supreme in all matters which touched his regal dignity. The struggle between Church and State went on all through the middle ages, but between Church and Church there never was any struggle from the Synod of Whitby in 664 to the Reformation. To this close connexion with Rome England owed nearly all the civilizing and refining influences which educated her people during the mediæval period.† To this supremacy of Rome it was due that the nations of Europe during that period lived in the main a life of common ideas and common aspirations, which were a most influential part of the training of Christendom.

How entirely the daily life of our forefathers was dominated by the church is a thing which is difficult for us to realize at the present day, when so many sources of power,

* V. Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical History," III, p. 297.

† It would be wrong to ignore the labours of the Scoto-Irish church of Iona, to whom the North of England, and no small part of the South, chiefly owes its Christianity. But this church also derived its civilization from the Roman empire.

interest, or amusement are open to us. Nearly all the things which we now regard as common benefits of life were in the middle ages connected with the church.* There were no schools, hospitals, or literature, except in connection with the church. The church was the intimate companion of every man and woman from the cradle to the grave. It was not only at the more solemn seasons of life that her aid was invoked for baptism, marriage, extreme unction or burial; she had a legal control over all questions of personal agreements, such as wills, trusts, and contracts, which led to her constant interference in the daily business of life. The poor man preferred to seek justice in her courts, rather than in the king's. From the sculpture and painting which adorned the walls of her buildings he learned nearly all the religious teaching he ever got. Her stately services, her processions and festivals provided him with a perpetual source of interest. The great events of the life of Christ were yearly acted in a sort of mimic drama within the walls of the parish church; many of these churches still contain the niche in which at Easter a representation of the Resurrection was arranged. Even amusements were blessed and patronized by the church; and the English drama had its origin in the miracle plays which were once acted in monastic schools.

We might be led to infer from this all-pervading influence of the church that the middle ages were peculiarly religious, and this claim has often been made for them. A closer acquaintance with them will dissipate this delusion. The Christianity of the middle ages was only

* See "Childhood of the English Nation," p. 159.

skin-deep. The men of the middle ages were semi-barbarians, and though words of piety were ever on their lips, the contrast between theory and practise was never so deplorable as then. Let us make no mistake about this; there never has been such an age of faith as our own. The mediæval time was indeed an age of credulity; but it was also in a marked degree an age of hypocrisy. What doubt there was (and there was plenty) did not dare to speak out; but kings and nobles, priests and commoners, dared to dress up evil purposes in pious words in a way which the worst of us would shrink from to-day.

There could not be a stronger proof of the general low tone of religion in the middle ages than the rise of *the great purgatory trade*, which has left such a marked impress architecturally on our cathedrals and churches. Those who have lived amongst savage peoples, and closely observed them, tell us that they are always under the influence of fear. In all the powers of nature, in the trifling incidents of daily life, in the human eye even, they find hostile forces lurking, and their religion is mainly an effort to counteract these evils by enchantments. In the skin-deep Christianity of the middle ages, this state of fear continued. The man retained all his old fear of hobgoblins and witches, but too generally he regarded God also mainly as an object of dread, to be propitiated by alms and gifts and masses. There is nothing unreasonable in the doctrine of purgatory, if it means that those whose spiritual education here has been incomplete are sent to school again in the other world. But to the middle ages, purgatory meant an abode of gross material suffering,

where a cruel God exacted the last pound of flesh from his victims, unless he could be bribed by the services and offerings of the living to let them off. Could any notion be more irreligious than this? But nearly all the religious foundations of the middle ages drew their endowments from the desire of some wealthy persons to have masses said perpetually to redeem their souls from purgatory. After monasteries ceased to be founded for this purpose (in the 13th century) chantries in churches were founded in increasing numbers for the same end. I shall return to this subject of the chantries in the next chapter.

Only the very greatest souls of the middle ages realised the elementary truth that *salvation is a matter of character*. But there always were elect souls who had the root of Christianity in them, and it is these men and women who are the glory of the middle ages. They were the spiritual giants who fought the fight of faith in the hardest conflict through which Christendom has ever had to pass, and I believe it is chiefly owing to them that the middle ages have for us to-day a charm and a fascination such as no other period of history possesses.*

But with the exception of a few kings and nobles who recognised that they owed duties to the world, all these elect souls sought for the purification of the church in one way, the way of Asceticism. The method of asceticism is to try to get rid of sin by getting rid of temptation. Marriage is a temptation, because it leads a man to care for his wife and children more than for the things of God;

* Vide Appendix, Note R.

therefore, get rid of marriage. Wealth is a temptation, because it leads to luxury and selfishness ; therefore, get rid of wealth.

Of course it is a simple answer to this to say that the one thing needful is not to get rid of the sources of temptation, but to make the man himself superior to the power of temptation. This is doubtless true, but still we must give the men of the middle ages credit for that general common sense which leads each age to choose the best means of doing its own particular work. And when we see that for some twelve hundred years the Christian church persistently trod the way of asceticism, we must at least believe that she found it the most practicable and useful way of preaching Christianity to those with whom she had to deal. Even now, we can see uses in some kinds of asceticism ; nearly all great specialists are ascetics, that is, they limit the development of many sides of their nature in order that they may develope one. Temperance societies, too, are instances of the ascetic method of trying to get rid of a sin by removing the source of temptation ; they assert that the magnitude of the temptation is so great that there is no other way of dealing with it.

We take it then that since Asceticism, and its great embodiment Monasticism, were the special forms which religious effort took for about 1200 years, they were, in the main, suited to the times. We cannot but regard it as a great calamity that for those 1200 years the position of women, and the home life, remained to a great extent under a cloud. But no one can help seeing the great

things which were accomplished by Monasticism. The Monasteries were the first attempts to realize human brotherhood; in them men of all classes, ignoring the caste feelings which were dominant in their day, lived together as equals. They were the sole refuges where the learning and art of the past were preserved for future times. They, and they alone, taught the world that honest work was noble, when both the Roman and the Teuton regarded it as the portion of slaves. For it was part of the rule of St. Benedict, the great organizer of Western Monachism, that his monks should live by the labour of their hands.

The Order of St. Benedict had numerous monasteries in England in Anglo-Saxon times, but they suffered so much in the long wars with the Danes that at the time of the Norman Conquest no monasteries existed at all in the north of England, and monasticism throughout the country was at a very low ebb. But the end of the eleventh century saw a great revival of religion, which took the form, as all religious revivals did then, of an attempt to reform and revive monasticism. Of the many orders of reformed Benedictines which arose at the end of the 11th century or early in the 12th, the most important was that of the Cistercians, founded in 1098 at Cîteaux in Burgundy. The Benedictines had become corrupted by wealth, which led to laxity and idleness; they had relaxed the law of their founder, which ordained that every monk should take his share of manual labour, and turned over the work of their monasteries and estates to their servants and serfs. The Cistercians therefore aimed at a stricter

asceticism, and a return to labour. Their rule was very severe; they might never speak except to the abbot or the prior; they might only take food once a day; and might never eat meat, except when sick. They were all obliged to work in the fields for part of the day.

The Cistercians were immensely popular at first, and they carried a wave of religious revival through the principal countries of Europe. Within a century of their foundation, the parent cloister of Cîteaux numbered 3000 affiliated monasteries, amongst them some of our most famous English abbeys, Fountains, Kirkstall, Byland, Rievaulx, Furness, and Tintern. Founding their first settlements in lonely and wild situations, they speedily converted the country around into a garden. They devoted themselves to agriculture and cattle-breeding, and to them England became indebted for her finer wool, which afterwards became so important an article of commerce with Flanders, and for her improved breed of horses and her superior farming.* But their industry brought them wealth and temptation, their rule was relaxed, and before the end of the 12th century they were objects of general satire for their rapacity and luxuriousness.

The fortunes of the church were at a very low ebb at the beginning of the 13th century. One of the ablest of the popes, Innocent III, was struggling with very little success to enforce the rights of the papacy in an age which was already falling away from the church, either in open heresy or in secret disgust. In the year 1212

* See Brewer, Preface to Giraldus' *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, Rolls Series.

Innocent was one day walking on the terrace of the Lateran palace, when a beggar dressed in the meanest rags appeared before him, with a scheme to convert the world by poverty and humility. The pope dismissed him with contempt. But that night Innocent dreamed that he saw the fabric of the church tottering to its foundations, when a man rushed forward, and putting his shoulder in the place of the quaking columns of the church, upheld it with his own strength; and in the face of that man Innocent recognised the beggar who had visited him in the morning. The beggar was recalled; he was Francis of Assisi.* The order which he had already founded received the papal sanction; and in conjunction with the order of St. Dominic, which arose about the same time, it did most truly fulfil the vision, and save the falling church.

The principle of both these orders was the same as that of the older ones in that they sought safety from the temptations of wealth by a more absolute rule of poverty, but it was very different in another respect, and was a distinct admission of the more modern spirit which was beginning to work. The Franciscans and Dominicans were not to separate themselves from the world, and work for their own salvation in solitude, they were to mix with the world, and work for the salvation of the world. They considered themselves the *brothers* of all men, and hence

* Such at least is the story, which has been preserved in one of the most authentic lives of St. Francis, that of the *Tres Socii*. Its spiritual truth is undeniable.

they got the name of the Friars. Their convents arose not in deserts, but in the most thickly populated quarters of towns, where they tended the sick, the lepers, and the outcasts. Both orders, besides communities of monks and of nuns, comprehended a third order of men and women who were not bound by monastic vows, but only bound to fulfil the duties of their station and their religion with pious faithfulness; another remarkable advance, and a departure from the purely ascetic spirit of older monasticism. No less important was the devotion of both orders to the work of preaching, which had fallen into general disuse. At the present day there are no pulpits to be found in our churches which are older than the 15th century; but it was the Franciscans and Dominicans who first set themselves earnestly to the work of the Christian instruction of the people. Their preaching was the great power by which the influence of the church again made itself vitally felt in the hearts of the people; and there can be no doubt that it staved off the Reformation for 200 years.* And this was not an evil, for if the men of the 16th century blundered as they did with the Reformation, we may be quite sure the men of the 13th century would have done much worse.

But great as was the success of the Friars, and important as was the work which they accomplished, they did not escape the doomed circle which all the monastic orders were compelled to trace—popularity, wealth, luxury, corruption. By the beginning of the 14th century their

* See Appendix, Note S.

fall had begun; by the end of that century they were denounced by Wycliffe as sturdy beggars.

The reader will perhaps think that by this time we have got very far from the antiquities of Sheffield and Rotherham. Not so. When we visit the ruins of the beautiful monastic buildings which we have in such profusion in Yorkshire, it is important that we should realize that the spiritual interest of these ruins lies in the fact that they were the scene of a great religious experiment, which though it did not realize all that was expected of it, has nevertheless left precious legacies of spiritual discovery and achievement for all succeeding time.

The failure of monasticism is clearly proved by the fact that for 150 years before the Reformation no more monasteries were founded in England. Nearly all the monasteries in Yorkshire were founded before the year 1200, in that great epoch of monastic development, the 12th century. But after the middle of the 13th century men began to give up founding monasteries, and to give their money to other things, chantries, hospitals, and finally colleges.

We can get a very good idea of the importance of monasticism in English mediæval life by considering the number of religious houses which there were in the district treated of here. Within a circle of about 24 miles in diameter we find the following :*

Beauchief Abbey; Premonstratensian Canons (White Canons); founded 1172—1176.

* Fig. 81 gives the dress of these various orders.

Bretton Priory; Cluniac Monks; founded 1157.

Doncaster; Franciscans (Grey Friars); first mentioned in 1291.

Doncaster; Dominicans (Black Friars); date of foundation unknown.

Doncaster; Carmelites (White Friars); founded in 1350.

Ecclesfield; Benedictines (Black Monks); founded about 1100.

Hampole; Cistercian Nuns; founded in 1170.

Roche Abbey; Cistercian Monks (White Monks); founded 1147.

Tickhill; Augustinian Friars; date of foundation unknown.

Walling Wells; Augustinian Nuns; founded in Stephen's reign.

Worksop Priory; Augustinian Canons (Black Canons); founded 1123.

But the list is not complete unless we add to it the hospitals, which in the middle ages were strictly religious houses, being under the care of persons who obeyed some religious rule, generally the one which went by the name of St. Augustine. They were not however invariably hospitals for the sick; sometimes they were more like alms-houses, places for the reception of poor and impotent persons; sometimes they were places where hospitality was shewn to travellers, like the Hospice of the great St. Bernard. The fact that there were at least twelve of them in so small a district, when the population must have been less than a twentieth of what it is now, is a very high testimony to the activity of Christian charity in

the middle ages. These hospitals are nearly all of early date. As far as I have been able to find out, they were the following :

Barnsley ; three almshouses ; founded in 1493.

Chesterfield ; hospital for lepers ; existing in 1199.

Doncaster ; hospital of St. James ; for sick and lepers ; existing in 1287.

Doncaster ; hospital of St. Nicholas ; mentioned in 1231.

Hope ; hospital of St. Mary ; for poor persons ; existing before 1339.

Sheffield ; hospital of St. Leonard ; for sick ; founded in twelfth century.

Sprotborough ; hospital of St. Edmund ; existing in 1280.

Tickhill ; hospital of St. Leonard ; existing before 1223.

Tickhill ; Maison Dieu ; for old persons ; founded by John of Gaunt.

Tickhill ; a hospital on the Blythe Road.

When we remember that every one of these religious houses held lands scattered over the district (as well as over the whole county and even other counties), so that there was scarcely a parish in the neighbourhood where some monastery had not rights of property, we shall realize how all-pervading must have been the influence of monasticism.

I reserve for the next chapter a more detailed account of monastic life, which will come most fitly with the description of the most important monastic ruin of this

neighbourhood, the Cistercian abbey of Roche. I will now briefly describe the other remains of monastic origin.

I.—Ecclesfield; the Priory of St. Wandregisle. I mention this first because it is the only Benedictine house in the district, and it may also claim to be the oldest monastic foundation, as it was founded by Roger de Lovetot, lord of Hallamshire, in the reign of Henry I.* A Priory is always subordinate to an Abbey somewhere else, which appoints a Prior to manage it. Ecclesfield belonged to St. Wandregisle's monastery at Fontanelle in Normandy, and was therefore one of those *alien priories* which became sources of trouble as the English national spirit developed, because the intrusion of foreign monks into English monasteries was so much disliked. During the long French war the foreign monasteries lost their hold on England, and in many cases the king took possession of their priories. Richard II gave the priory of Ecclesfield to the Carthusian house of St. Anne at Coventry. The Carthusians were one of the most interesting of the reformed Benedictine orders, as theirs was almost the only order which seems to have preserved its first purity up to the Reformation. It was never however very popular, and had only nine houses in England. The existing remains of the Priory have undergone many transformations, and are now converted into a charming clergy house. Part of the refectory and dormitory still exist, and a small oratory, with a piscina and aumry, the latter still

* Dr. Gatty states this in "Life at one Living," and refers to the Register of Archbishop Melton.

retaining its original oaken door, a thing not often seen. These buildings are of the 13th century.

II.—Walling Wells Abbey (in Nottinghamshire) was founded in the reign of Stephen for nuns of the order of St. Augustine. The original charter, which is preserved, makes it an independent convent, but says nothing about the rule. Dugdale calls the nuns Benedictines. Some few fragments of the abbey remain in Sir Thomas Woollaston's park at Walling Wells. It was only a small one; there were eight nuns at the time of the Dissolution.

III.—Burton or Bretton Priory, more properly called the Priory of St. Mary Magdalene at Lund, was founded in 1157 by Adam Fitz-Sweyn, and belonged to the Cluniac monks at Pontefract, who were themselves subject to the abbey of La Charité, in France. The Cluniac order was the first of the many attempts to reform and restore the rule of St. Benedict; it was introduced into England shortly after the Conquest, and it established at least 42 priories in this country.* At the time of the Dissolution Bretton Priory contained 13 monks. A catalogue of their library still exists, and is printed by Hunter.† The remains of the Priory are scanty; they consist of two beautiful Dec. arches belonging to the E. end of the church, and of a Perp. gate-house, which has a handsome niche over a round arch. One or two Norman arches are to be seen in the other fragments.

* Dugdale, "Monasticon," V. p. iv.

† "Deanery of Doncaster," II, p. 275.

There is another archway with some tumble-down buildings of the Tudor period attached to it. The rest of the Priory has been converted into a farm-house, which contains an original staircase of polished oak. The ruins are half a mile from Stairfoot station.

IV.—Hampole is the only conventual establishment for women in this district except Walling Wells; it was for Cistercian nuns. A finial, a corbel, and a poor little national school-room, are all that remain of the nunnery of Hampole. It was founded about 1170 by William de Clarefaix and Avicia de Tani; at the Dissolution it contained 18 nuns. A letter of the Archbishop of York, in 1278, to the Prioress of Hampole, and the other Cistercian houses in his diocese, is preserved, in which he orders them to admit the Minorites and Preaching Friars (Franciscans and Dominicans) as their confessors, notwithstanding the prohibition of the general Abbot of the Cistercian order. The Friars, he says, shine like the splendour of the firmament.* In the 14th century, the nunnery of Hampole gave shelter to a celebrated hermit, Richard Rolle, who probably lived in a hutch or *ankerhold*† attached to the external wall of the church, with a loophole into the chancel to enable him to watch the celebration of mass. Richard Rolle was a man whose character would lead us to re-consider the very severe judgment which was generally passed on hermits in mediæval times. He was a man of fervent evangelical piety, and was no doubt one of the powerful religious influences of his day. His writings

* Dugdale, "Monasticon," V.

† Anker, from anchorite, was the old English name for a hermit.

are interesting examples of the English of the 14th century; one of them, the Ayenbite of Inwit (the Prick of Conscience) has been published by the Early English Text Society. After his death, his tomb at Hampole became a place of pilgrimage.*

V.—Doncaster had three houses of Friars; White, Black, and Grey, in the middle ages, and two Hospitals, St. James' and St. Nicholas'. "There was a right goodly house of white freres in the middle of the town, now defaced," says Leland, "where lay buried in a goodly tomb of white marble, a countess of Westmoreland." The White Friars were the Carmelites; their house was close to the site of the present Post Office. The last Prior was hanged at Tyburn in 1540, for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace.† As the Friars always had their establishments in towns, very few of their buildings have survived in England.‡ The convent of the Grey Friars in Doncaster, like all Franciscan monasteries, stood in the poorest part of the town, at the N. end of the ancient bridge. Some vestiges of its church were discovered in 1842, when the River Don navigation canal was cut through its site. The Hospital of St. James, for sick and leprous people, had

* Lawton's "Religious Houses of Yorkshire," p. 60.

† See in "Yorkshire Archæological Journal," Vol. XIII, a paper by Dr. Fairbank on the Carmelites of Doncaster; and another on the Grey Friars of Doncaster, by the same author, in the volume for 1893.

‡ In London the church of the Franciscans (Grey Friars) still survives as Christ's Hospital, but not a fragment remains of the once extensive buildings of the Dominicans (Black Friars).

become a free chapel with a chantry before the Dissolution.* Every vestige of these religious houses is now swept away.

VI.—Tickhill had once a Priory of Augustine Friars,† which has been converted into a private house. A corbel head over the garden gateway may possibly be intended for St. Augustine. That Tickhill also possessed three hospitals is a striking testimony to its former importance. One called the *Maison Dieu*, near the church, was founded by John of Gaunt; in Hunter's time it had become an almshouse. There was also a Hospital dedicated to St. Leonard, which still exists in the street called Northgate; the present building has an interesting black and white timbered front, with very characteristic Perp. pillars with battlemented capitals, and bears the date 1470, but the foundation dates from the 13th century at the latest, as in 1225 Archbishop Walter de Grey recommended it to the charity of all good people, on account of its poverty-stricken condition.‡ The site of the Hospital on the Blythe Road is now occupied by the modern residence of Sandrock. Of the other hospitals mentioned on my list not a vestige remains, though the ruins of St. Edmund's Hospital near Sprotborough were standing in the memory of persons living in 1850.

* Dugdale, "Monasticon," VII, 780.

† The Augustinian or Austin Friars were an order formed late in the 13th century, when Pope Innocent IV attempted to incorporate under one rule the hermits, recluses, and small miscellaneous religious communities, which had hitherto been independent and numerous. Luther belonged to the Austin Friars.

‡ Tanner, "Notitia Monastica," 684.

I have not yet spoken of the *Canonical* establishments, of which we have two notable memorials within our circuit. The institution of Canons arose in the 8th century, at a time of deplorable immorality among the clergy. It was an attempt to bring the clergy of cathedral churches to order by making them live together under a common rule, in a common building; it aimed also at educating them, and obliged them to devote a part of every day to reading and prayer. Although the Canons were not monks, and were never called monks, it was under the influence of the monastic example that the canonical rule arose, and in the 11th century, when a reform of the canonical order became necessary, an attempt was made to make the canonical rule still more monastic, by insisting that the property of the Canons should be held in common. The name of St. Augustine was attached to the new rule of Canons, because that father was supposed to favour community of property among the clergy. In the 12th century arose an even stricter order of reformed Canons, founded by St. Norbert at Prémontré in Picardy, and taking from that place the name Premonstratensian. These Canons wore a white habit, and were hence called White Canons, to distinguish them from the Black Canons, or Augustinians. The Canons it must be borne in mind, were in the first place clergy, and differed from the monks in that they existed for the sake of the church with which they were connected, and not the church for the sake of them. Houses or *colleges* of canons were sometimes placed in the country, as at Beauchief, and then the canons had certain duties connected with the parish churches of the neighbourhood.

Frequently too, they had schools for the instruction of youth.*

The two canonical foundations in this neighbourhood are Worksop and Beauchief.

The Priory of Worksop in Nottinghamshire was founded by William de Lovetot between 1123 and 1139, for the Augustinian Canons who had previously been attached to the church of St. Cuthbert in Worksop. The present church is only the nave of the ancient one; the Eastern wall, which divides it from what was formerly the central tower, dates from the restoration of 1850. Even the easternmost bay of the nave, which is the oldest part of the church, is not older than the second half of the 12th century, while the rest of the church probably dates from 1170 to 1180. This easternmost bay, the pillars of which have scalloped capitals, marks the termination of the part of the church which belonged peculiarly to the canons; and was separated by a stout wall from the rest of the nave, which was the parish church, where the services were originally conducted by the canons. But owing to the difficulties which so frequently arose in the administration of a parish by a body of canons, permanent vicars were appointed as early as 1276. There were 15 canons and a prior at Worksop at the time of the Dissolution. After that event, the Priory was allowed to go to ruin, and even after the establishment of Protestant services the church seems to have been very ill cared for; the vaulting of the aisles fell in during this century, and the

* See Appendix, Note T.

triforium arches had previously been disfigured by making them into windows.

The church was restored by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1850 ; both aisle walls were rebuilt, as well as the E. wall, and new windows placed in them, the triforium was restored, a new roof built and new pavement laid, and new bases given to the pillars. A good deal of the church therefore is modern, but there is enough of the ancient work left to make it a very fine specimen of Transition-Norman ; especially the W. front with its two towers, its very large West window, and its richly ornamented W. doorway. This doorway shows the Norman chevron and nail-head mouldings combined with the E. E. dog-tooth ; similarly in the towers we see two E. E. pointed lancets enclosed under a round Norman arch. The nave has the immense length which is usual in canonical churches (it is 140 feet long), and the large deep galleries which are characteristic of Norman work. The pillars of the nave are alternately round and octagonal, the arches round, and the capitals have the Norman volute and the E.E. dog-tooth ornament. The ancient doorways have been inserted in the new walls ; that on the S. side has a door covered with good iron scroll-work. In the N. aisle is a sepulchral arch of the 13th century ; and there are three mutilated effigies, supposed to be those of Thomas de Furnival + 1366 ; William de Furnival + 1406 ; and Maud Nevil, the heiress who carried the Furnival property into the Talbot family.*

* Dugdale has printed a long and curious piece of ancient doggrel, which describes the tombs formerly existing in Worksop church. "Monasticon," VI, 122.

While the excellent masonry and the profuse use of the dog-tooth ornament shew that this church belongs to the latter part of the 12th century, the general character of the work has the heaviness of the Norman style rather than the lightness of the Transition. The S. porch is Perp. and bears the arms of Talbot; the pinnacles and battlements of the towers are of the same epoch. Behind the present church the piers which once supported the central tower, and which have scalloped capitals, can still be seen, and there are traces of a Norman transept. There are also some remains of a Lady chapel opening out of the S. transept, of excellent E. E. work; it contains a beautiful double piscina, amnry, and an arch for a single sedile.

The monastic buildings are on the N. side of the church, but very little remains of them. To the N. W. of the church is a fine Norman doorway, leading into a groined passage, which is now made into a vestry. This passage formerly led into the cloisters. To the left of it are the ruins of a vaulted building which was probably the undercroft of the dormitory. The Priory well still exists in the middle of the former cloister-garth.

The gate-house of the Priory precinct is in fair preservation, and has been a handsome piece of Dec. work, probably belonging to the first quarter of the 14th century. It has been richly storied with religious sculpture, which is now much mutilated. The statues on each side of the fine segmental-arched window represent St. Augustine and St. Cuthbert. Over the window of a very ornamental

porch on the right hand side of the archway, which is probably of somewhat later Dec. than the gatehouse itself, a representation of the Adoration of the Magi can still be traced; and on the E. front of the gateway, the Salutation. The oak roof of the archway is original.*

Beauchief Abbey† was founded by Robert Fitz Ranulph of Alfreton between 1172 and 1176, for Premonstratensian or White Canons, and dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket. It is a popular error, long ago refuted, that the founder was one of the murderers of Becket. Beauchief was a small and poor house. The abbot was only once summoned to Parliament. In 1461, one of the abbots was deposed for wastefulness, incontinence, and other crimes. Not many years after, when the Abbey was visited according to custom by the head of the Premonstratensian order in Britain, it was found that the canons were given to drinking, and to going in and out of the convent alone, contrary to rule. The convent was £60 in debt, and the granaries only held one weeks' provision. The newly elected abbot was ordered to amend these things. But in 1478, four canons were excommunicated, and later in the same year six were cited to appear before a meeting of Premonstratensian abbots in the chapter-house of the Grey Friars at Doncaster. We find a wave of the educational enthusiasm of the Renaissance reaching as far as

* See "Worksop, the Dukery, and Sherwood Forest," by Robert White. Worksop, 1875.

† See Pegge's "History of Beauchief Abbey," and a paper by Mr Gordon Hills on Beauchief Abbey, in "Journal of Arch. Association, Vol. XXX.

Beauchief, when in 1490 the convent engaged a teacher to instruct "such boys or novices as the convent should name" in grammar and singing. The visitors sent by Henry VIII found no fault with the convent.

After the Dissolution the abbey church stood empty and unused for nearly a hundred years, until it was restored for public worship through the zeal of a Puritan vicar of Sheffield, named Toller. Numbers of out-lying churches went out of use like Beauchief after the Reformation, and some were never reclaimed for religious service. The truth is that the English Reformation was most unfortunately conducted, and was made the pretext, by kings and great people, for a shameful spoliation of the mediæval church. The true revival and reformation of religion came from the Puritans. We have so often to deplore as antiquaries the destructiveness of the Puritans, their iconoclastic ravages in the sculpture and stained glass of our English churches, that we must not omit to notice their constructiveness, which was far more important. It was the spiritual church which they sought to build; and they did build it.

The church of Beauchief Abbey is described soon after the Dissolution as having been "very spacious, having a fair chancel where was an altar, and a large steeple where were five bells." Nothing is left now but the tower and a portion of the nave which is used as a parish church. The late Norman doorway placed to the N. of the tower, and a round-headed window in the N. wall of the church, are the only relics of the Norman church, but the doorway

has been removed from its previous situation on the N. side of the nave. To the S. of the tower is another doorway, late Transition, which came from the W. wing of the Priory. The tower (what is left of it) is a fine Decorated tower, and has buttresses and a blocked up W. window of that date. The W. doorway however is Transition Norman, and seems to indicate that there was an earlier tower of that period. There is really very little to see at Beauchief. In 1671, the materials of the Abbey were used to build Beauchief Hall, which stands hard by. What is supposed to be the old altar-piece of the Abbey, a representation of the murder of Becket, is still preserved at Osberton Hall, Notts.

CHAPTER X.

ROCHE ABBEY.

History of the Abbey—The Dissolution—The Ruins—The Church
—The Chapter-house—The Cloister and Monastic Buildings—
Daily Life of Cistercian Monks.

ROCHE Abbey was founded by a colony of monks from Newminster Abbey in Northumberland, which itself was a daughter of Fountains.* Durandus, the first abbot of Roche, after wandering about in the forests of South Yorkshire, followed by twelve monks, came to this little valley, and was struck by finding among the limestone rocks which shelter the valley from the North, a strange resemblance to a crucifix. He at once decided on the spot as the site of his future monastery. For some time he and his monks lived in huts, feeding on boiled leaves and herbs. But the two great Norman landholders of the district, Richard de Busli,† who lived at Tickhill Castle, and Richard Fitz Turgis, lord of Hooton, joined together to give them lands on each side the stream, for the founding of an Abbey, the monks of which were to pray for the souls of the joint founders and of their

* Aveling's "History of Roche Abbey," and Hunter's "Deanery of Doncaster," are the principal authorities for the local part of this chapter.

† Son of Roger de Busli. See page 90.

ancestors. The charter which they gave is dated 1147, but the abbey whose ruins exist was probably built in Henry II's reign, as its architecture is in the Transition Norman style.*

The Abbey was rich and flourishing for two hundred years; its abbot was an important and busy man, frequently summoned to the councils of kings, who always looked to the wealthy abbeys when they wanted advances of money for their wars with France or Scotland. We find the Abbot of Roche constantly summoned to Parliament, after that institution had received its more popular form at the hands of Simon de Montfort.

The visitors whom Henry VIII sent to Roche Abbey before the Dissolution bring a charge of gross profligacy against five of the monks. The character of these visitors is not regarded as absolutely trustworthy, and it is well known that Henry was determined to have the wealth of the monasteries. One thing only is certain, that monasticism had done all the good it was capable of doing, and was now dead and useless. Roche Abbey had decreased in revenue at the time of the Dissolution, and was £20 in debt;† a fact which looks like bad management, to say the least. The Abbey was confiscated in June 1536.

When the monks were dismissed, they all received pensions for life, and were allowed to sell the furniture

* See Scott, "Lectures on Mediæval Architecture," II, 109. Mr. Aveling puts the date of the abbey in the last ten years of the 12th century. This seems rather too late.

† Equal to £200 of our money.

and woodwork of their cells for their own profit; "and everything was to be had good cheap."† The visitors generally brought with them carpenters, masons, and plumbers, to carry out the work of demolition, for it was part of the royal plan that the monasteries should be thoroughly demolished, to prevent any future revival of monasticism. The only buildings ordered to be preserved were the farm buildings. A sale was made of the materials of the Abbey. "It would have pitied any heart," says the letter quoted above, "to see what tearing up of lead there was, and plucking up of boards, and throwing down of spars, and how the lead was thrown down and cast into the church, and the tombs in the church all broken, and all things of price either spoiled, carped away, or defaced to the uttermost." When the lead, with which the roof was covered, was torn down, the wooden seats in the choir, which we are told were "like those in minsters," and therefore no doubt beautifully carved, were plucked up to make a fire to melt the lead. During the excavations in 1888, it was found that a fire had been kindled for melting the lead over one of the tombs in the nave, causing the slab to crack in several pieces; near it, several feet of dross of lead were found.

Generally the masonry of abbeys was too solid to be torn down at once, and the buildings were allowed to stand and go gradually to ruin, though the sale of the stone was still reserved. But though the king thus tried

† Mr. Aveling has printed a letter of one Cuthbert Shirebrook which gives a vivid account of what took place on the day of the dissolution of the Abbey.

to get his price for everything, there seems to have been plenty of downright stealing (besides his own) on the day that Roche Abbey was spoiled. The populace crowded in and filched whatever they could. Iron hooks, locks, and bolts were torn away; the parchment missals were carried off and used for mending waggon-hoods; and among the limestone rocks which overhang the abbey were found pewter vessels which thieves had placed there, intending to take them away at leisure. We find that in other places the mob greedily joined in the plunder of the monasteries, not that they had any zeal against the old religion, but that the opportunity was too tempting. Even Catholics, when they saw that all was put to the spoil, determined not to lose their share.*

Let us now examine the ruins. About 120 years ago, a wretched landscape gardener was let loose upon them. He actually pulled down some portions which were then standing, and covered up the rest till the solitary arches which remain rose out of a neat bowling green. This was his idea of an elegant ruin. Thanks to the energy of the present owner, the Earl of Scarborough, the site has now been excavated, and the ground-plan of the ancient Abbey has re-appeared.

The first building which we see is the gatehouse, which stood detached from the Abbey buildings, on the ancient wall which can still be traced, surrounding the Abbey precinct. The actual gate hung in the central arch, where the holes for the hinges and staples can yet be

* See the letter in Aveling's "History of Roche Abbey," quoted above.

seen. Into the large open porch, which forms the front half of the gate-house we can imagine the poor of the neighbourhood crowding, as they did at those times when the monks distributed bread, a custom whereby they probably did more harm than good.* The porter always kept a store of loaves to be given to wayfarers. In the N. W. corner of the inner room of the gate-house is a stone stair-case, of the spiral kind called a *newell*, which formerly led up to some rooms in an upper storey. The gate-house is not as old as the Abbey, but belongs to the 14th century.

The ruins of the Abbey itself are at some distance from the gate-house. All that remains standing is a fragment of the Abbey church, enough to show what a beautiful building it once was. The Cistercians were ordered to build their churches with extreme plainness, but in those days people knew how to build simply and nobly at the same time. The Cistercians too, like the Quakers, liked to have things *good*, and such a thing as a badly built Cistercian wall is unknown.† The Cistercian order, as I have already remarked, came to England at the time when the Norman architecture of the 11th and 12th centuries was passing into the Early English of the 13th century. Hence so many of our great Cistercian abbeys are built in the Transition-Norman style. This Transition style is what we find at Roche. We find that what windows or

* Giraldus Cambrensis praises the Carthusians at the expense of the Cistercians, and says that the former do not have crowds of poor at their gates, who are mostly vagabonds, but try to relieve the really deserving poor. Spec. Ecc. III. XX.

† Micklethwaite, "Yorkshire Archæolog. Journal," VII, 239.

parts of windows remain have the round arches of the Norman style, except two in the S. chapels, which have evidently been put in during the 14th century. But the grouped pillars of the nave have the pointed or keeled shafts which belong to the Transition and to Early English. Mr. Aveling says: "The church, there is little doubt, was according to the usual custom commenced at the east end, and here accordingly we find marks of the earliest character; such for instance as the mixing of round and pointed shafts in piers, with square edges at the angles, while the mixture entirely disappears when we get to the west of the crossing, where all the shafts of the pillars have assumed the pointed form."

During the recent excavations, the lower part of the W. front of the Abbey church has been uncovered, so that we can now enter the church by the W. doorway. The floor of the church has been excavated from end to end, though pious respect for the stately elms which add so much to the beauty of the picture has hindered the clearing out of the whole area. The three doorways of the W. front are now plainly revealed, and we can trace the bases of 12 out of the 16 pillars which once supported the roof of the nave. On the right, in the S. W. corner, is a small doorway which once led to the staircase leading to the dormitory.* It was by this doorway, in some abbeys,

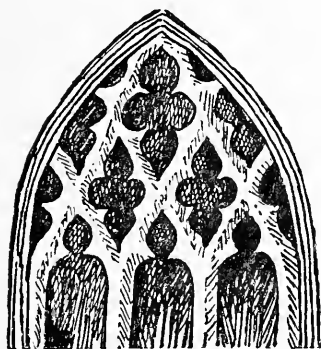
* There is some uncertainty about the position of the dormitory in Cistercian monasteries; sometimes it was over the chapter house, sometimes on the W. side of the cloister, over the Ambulatory which was attached to that side. When it was over the chapter-house, the upper room on the W. side of the cloister was the apartment of the *Conversi*, or Lay brethren, who would use this staircase and doorway in the manner described. For the Lay brethren see Appendix, Note U.

that the monks came seven times in the 24 hours to the services of the church. A projection at the foot of the second pillar has probably been used to hold a lamp for their guidance, as they pattered over the stone floor on the dark winter mornings, ghostly figures in their long white frocks. The flat tombstones which we see on the floor remind us of one of the rules of the Cistercians that all tombs should be level with the floor; a rule often broken in later times, when we find Matilda Countess of Cambridge ordering herself a handsome alabaster tomb "raised aloft, with an effigy," in the S. chapel of this very church.† About half way up the church we can still see the lower part of the stone screen which marked the entrance to the choir, which in Cistercian churches, and indeed in Norman churches generally, was always carried down beyond the crossing into the body of the nave. Here the monks sat or stood during divine service. On the last pillar but one of the nave, on the left hand side, notice a place cut out where a small brass figure has probably been inserted. A large square stone, ornamentally carved, with a hole in the middle, lying on the floor at the foot of the S. pillar of the crossing, is a *ground piscina*, and marks the site of a former chantry.

The beautiful fragment before us is of course the E. end of the church. The church has been cruciform, but the transepts have never had W. aisles; their E. aisles have been converted into chantry chapels, two on each side of the chancel. The chapels of the S. transept are

† No remains of this tomb were found during the recent excavations. See Appendix, Note V.

still entire, with their vaulted stone roofs; they are separated by a low wall. Their windows are insertions of the Decorated period, as is shown by the remains of tracery in one of them; when entire, it must have been as in the illustration (fig. 82). In the upper wall of the N. chapel, over the N. window,



82.—RETICULATED WINDOW AT
ROCHE ABBEY.

From Aveling's "History of Roche Abbey."

can be seen one of the doorways to the triforium gallery, which once ran round the church.

In the chancel, the foundations of the high altar are very plainly to be seen. On the S. wall of the chancel, a round arch remains which once enclosed three Norman sedilia; changed at a later date to sedilia of a more elaborate style. On the same wall are remains of a piscina

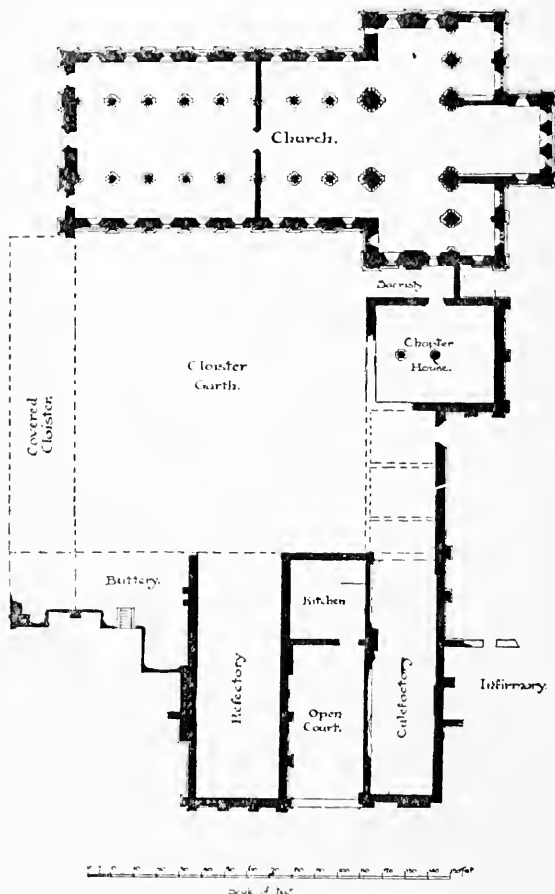
and an aumry or cupboard, where the sacred vessels for the mass were kept. On the opposite side of the chancel are the traces of some rich canopied work of the Decorated period, which may have been a tomb of the 14th century, or a site for an Easter sepulchre.* To the west of this is a shallow niche, also canopied but of lower dimensions.

The plan of a Cistercian monastery is nearly always exactly the same.† We can therefore say with tolerable

* See chapter XII.

† See plan of Roche Abbey.

certainty where the principal rooms of Roche Abbey stood, though their foundations have not yet all been cleared. A round arch in the S. wall of the S. transept



PLAN OF ROCHE ABBEY.

leads into a small room which was called the *Slype*; it was used as a Sacristy, and it also served as a Library, in the days when books were few in number. Through it the bodies of the monks were carried out for burial in the cemetery garth. Out of the Slype opens the *Chapter-house*, always a handsome apartment, and here vaulted on two pillars, one single-shafted, the other grouped. Here the Abbot and the brethren met to transact the solemn business of their order. A letter written in this chapter-house about the election of a new abbot in 1479, is still extant. West of the chapter-house, and flanking the S. wall of the nave, was formerly the *Cloister Garth*, a square court surrounded by a flagged and covered colonnade, which in England, in the later days of monasticism, was generally glazed. Here the monks usually sat and read or wrote, when they were not busied in the fields. On the S. side of the cloister was the monks' dining-hall, the *Frater* or *Refectory*. Here was a pulpit from which one of the monks read to the others during meals. The *Hospitium*, where guests were entertained, was on the outer or W. side of the cloister;* the *Kitchen* and other domestic offices of the monastery were on the E. side of the Refectory. The Kitchen has two large fire-places side by side; it opens into a small court, through which runs the great culvert by which the monastery was drained. There are two small chambers which appear to be store-rooms between the Kitchen and the Cloister; the *Buttery* appears to have been on the W. side of the Refectory. There are signs of a staircase leading upwards over these rooms, rendering it probable that the monks' dormitory at

* See Appendix, Note W.

Roche was over the Chapter-house. The large room running parallel with the Kitchen, to the E. of it, the foundations of which have been recently cleared, was the *Calefactorium* or Day-room of the monks.

The Cloister Garth was never used as a burying ground; in the centre of it was a fountain, the stone basin of which is still to be seen near the bridge beyond the Abbey. Here the monks washed their hands before entering the Refectory. The burying ground of the monks was outside the E. end of the church, where some of their graves are still to be seen. Interments were sometimes made in the E. and S. walks of the Cloister, and in the Chapter-house.

We can form a very good idea of the daily life of these Cistercian monks.* Their rule, as I have said, was very severe. They slept in a common dormitory on beds of straw,† the abbot sleeping in their midst. At a later period the abbot had a house to himself, and a sumptuous one too. A rough woollen cloth was laid over their straw beds, and they had a similar one for a covering. They lay down dressed in the same tunic, cowl, and stockings as they wore during the day, with their hoods drawn over their heads. A lamp burned all night in the dormitory.

* The following account is taken chiefly from Newman's "Life of Stephen Harding," ch. XV., "A Day at Cîteaux." See also a paper on "The Cistercian Plan," by J. T. Micklethwaite, "Yorks. Archæolog. Journal," VII, 239. Bloxam's "Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture," Vol. II. Fosbrooke's "British Monachism."

† Such at least was the case in the early days of the Rule, but it is evident from the letter of Cuthbert Shirebrook that at the time of the Dissolution the monks had separate cells.

At about 2 o'clock (the hour varied according to the season of the year) the sacristan rang the great bell for *matins*; instantly the monks all sprang out of bed and crossed themselves, and one by one the white figures glided into the church. They sat there on seats ranged on each side of the choir, like the stalls of a cathedral. I have already mentioned that those in Roche Abbey were "like those in minsters," probably beautifully carved. The stall of the Abbot was on the right hand in the western part of the choir, and the Prior's place was on the opposite side. *Matins* lasted for about two hours; the brethren did not return to their beds after it, but either remained in prayer in the church, or sat in the cloister reading until *Lauds*, which were held at day-break. In winter there was a considerable interval between *Matins* and *Lauds*, and this was the freest time that a monk had.

After *Lauds*, an interval was allowed, in which the monks might go to the lavatories, which were just outside the dormitory, to wash themselves, and to change some parts of the dress in which they had slept. When it was fully dawn, *Prime* was sung, and after that the monks went into the chapter-house. There the history of the saint whose day it happened to be, or a sermon, was read aloud; after that a portion of the rule of St. Benedict; and then every brother who had in the slightest way transgressed the rule, came forward and confessed it aloud before the whole convent, and received his appointed penance. But there was better sport to follow; when all had confessed their faults, they were allowed to accuse each other. "Our dear brother has committed a fault,"

said each accuser in turn ; and the monk who was shewn to have committed a grievous offence stripped himself to the waist, and received correction on his knees at the hands of another brother before the whole convent. After this performance, they went out to hard work in the fields ; but this was not their only form of labour ; each took his turn to be cook, cellarer, porter, or at other offices. They worked in the fields till the fourth service in church, called *Tierce*, after which the daily mass followed immediately. Then there was another interval in which they might either read in the cloister, or remain praying in the church.

It will be observed that all this time they have not had a scrap to eat, and it was not till after *Sext*, which came at 11-30, that they at last got into the refectory. Their first meal consisted of one pound of the coarsest bread, and two dishes of different sorts of vegetables, boiled without grease. Their drink was thin beer or wine, or a decoction of herbs. After the meal they had an hour's sleep in the dormitory. Then the bell rang them up again, and they washed themselves, and went to sit in the cloister or the church till *Nones*, at 2-30. Then they might have a drink of water in the refectory, before they again went to manual labour. After about two hours' work they had a slight meal in the refectory, consisting of the remainder of their pound of bread, with a few raw vegetables, such as radishes, lettuces, or apples. Then they went to the cloister, where some collection of the lives of the saints was read aloud, until it was time for *Compline*. When *Compline* was over, the abbot rose, and

sprinkled each brother with holy water as he went out. They then pulled their cowls over their heads, and went to bed, in winter at about seven, in summer at about eight o'clock.

The cloister was the ordinary sitting-room of the monks, and a very cold place it must have been. One of our monkish chroniclers complains that his fingers became numb while he was writing in the cloister. But there was a room called the *Calefactorium*, where a fire was kindled on Christmas night, and all the monks were allowed to gather round it. There is no mention of a fire at any other time, but it is easy to believe that one of the first relaxations of the rule which crept in would be the more frequent use of the *Calefactorium*. We know that in later times the cloisters were glazed for the sake of warmth.

How long was the Cistercian Rule observed in its original strictness? This is a question very difficult to answer. The original rule allowed no talking at all, not even by signs, except when one brother motioned to another to take care of his book, if he were called out of the cloister. But the abbot had the power of granting the privilege of conversation to those whom he judged worthy of it. He had indeed discretionary power to alter or temper the Rule according to the circumstances of the convent; he could allow extra pittance of food and exemptions from work, and it was probably the use of this discretion which in time reduced the Rule to a dead letter. Another cause which led to the relaxation of the Rule was

the practice of sending out a small number of monks to look after distant farms belonging to the convent. The monks enjoyed this so much that it became a proverbial saying, "sooner than do this, I will return to my monastery."* It is certain that not many years after the Cistercian abbeys of England were built the Cistercians had quite lost their character for sanctity, and were regarded as one of the most grasping and unscrupulous of the religious orders.†

* Giraldus Cambrensis, Spec. Ecc.

† Giraldus, Spec. Ecc. XIX., and Brewer's preface to the same work.

CHAPTER XI.

PARISH CHURCHES.

The Chancel—The Sanctuary—The Norman Revival—Changes and Additions — Towers — Clerestory — Windows — The Altar— Sedilia — Piscina — Easter Sepulchre — Rood-loft — Screens — Pulpits—How the Money was Raised—Guilds—Chantries — Squints—Fonts.

FROM Roche Abbey we must go back for several hundred years to take up the history of our parish churches. It is the history of their structure only which concerns us here; the origin of the parish is lost in the obscurity of early history. Our parish churches are the slow product of the religious life of many generations. It is rare indeed to find an ancient church which is all of one date. The hopes and fears, the love and care of generation after generation have gone to the building up of its fabric. For this very reason there is scarcely an ancient church in England that does not offer us an interesting problem in the history of its structure which we may spend hours in trying to solve.

Although the cruciform ground-plan for churches was introduced in the earliest days of Christianity in Britain, two other ground-plans, of simpler form, were common in

Anglo-Saxon times, especially in country churches. Both consisted of a nave and chancel, but in the one type the chancel was round-ended, in the other rectangular. The round apse was undoubtedly the Roman type, introduced by the Roman missionaries; the square chancel is supposed to have been the type introduced by the Scoto-Irish missionaries to whose labours the northern half of England and no small part of the southern half, chiefly owes its Christianity. It is certainly the fact that in this district, and in England generally, the rectangular chancel is the rule for country churches. Very few churches or cathedrals retain the round or polygonal apses which are so frequent on the continent. We have only one round apse in our district, but it is a very beautiful example, the little Norman chapel of Steetley. When the Early English style came into fashion, the Norman round apses were mostly destroyed, and churches reverted to the rectangular chancel.*

These ancient churches were generally extremely small. We must bear in mind that they were not built for preaching, or for any kind of service which could be called congregational. They were built for celebrating the mass, a service to which a mystical and magical value had become attached long before Rome sent Augustine to Britain. Already therefore the chancel had developed into the Holy of Holies in every church, where the clergy and their assistants alone might penetrate, while the lay congregation followed the service in the body of the church, separated from the chancel by a screen or a

* See Scott, "Lectures on Mediæval Architecture," Lecture X.

curtain. In Anglo-Saxon churches, we find the arch between the nave and the chancel extremely narrow, and we hear of a curtain being drawn across it, so that the sacred mysteries must have been actually invisible to the worshippers. At what time the third division was introduced into churches, by surrounding the altar with low rails or *cancelli*, which separated the Sanctuary from the Choir, has not yet been decided. Some of these *cancelli* are of great antiquity. But it is obvious that in small country churches, where the service was performed by one priest with at most two assistants (if any) a separation between the chancel and the sanctuary was unnecessary.* It seems probable therefore that the earliest and rudest churches in England had only two divisions, one of which was both chancel and sanctuary.†

No one can visit the country churches of any district in England without being struck by the remarkable building activity of the Normans. We know from history that they pulled down nearly all the Saxon cathedrals, and rebuilt them from their foundations; we can see from observation that they largely did the same by our parish churches. So that architecture would tell us of a religious revival brought in after the Norman conquest even if history were silent. The solid massive shafts supporting

* The Sanctuary is the part enclosed by the *cancelli*, and containing the altar it is also called the Presbytery, and in Greek churches the Bema. The division between the Choir and the Bema has always been much more marked in Eastern churches than in Western. See Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," art, *Cancelli*.

† The oldest Irish churches retain a still earlier type, which has no chancel at all.

the arches of Norman aisles are among the most indestructible features of Norman churches; whether to save the cost and trouble of making new pillars, or from some other reason, they were frequently retained when the whole fabric of the church was altered; and thus we frequently find Norman columns supporting arches of a much later style. In particular, we shall often find that the responds of the W. and E. walls of the nave are the most ancient things in the church. The highly ornamented Norman doorways also, with their elaborate rows of quaintly carved mouldings, seem to have been admired even when the fashion of architecture had entirely changed, as they have often been preserved in churches which have been completely rebuilt in Decorated or even in Perpendicular times.

Suppose that the original church of the Norman period was a small oblong building, with a round apse, and without aisles; if population increased in the neighbourhood, and a larger church became necessary, the first addition would be to build aisles, or as frequently was the case, one aisle only. This aisle would generally be on the N. side, as the S. side of the church was occupied by the graveyard, so that when a S. aisle was added, it had to be put up at the expense of the graveyard, an encroachment which was avoided as long as possible. The graves were always placed by preference on the sunny side of the church-yard. This explains why so many of our country churches have only N. aisles.*

* There are some instances of churches with S. aisles only, where the N. wall has originally been built without windows, for the sake of greater warmth.

If the masonry of the church was good, as was generally the case in the later Norman period, the church would now last for another hundred years at least, and this perhaps explains why there is so much less work of the Early English type in this district than of any other style.* Probably the alteration most commonly made in the Early English period would be the change from a short chancel with a round end to a much larger rectangular chancel.† There can be no doubt that walls of the Norman time have frequently been retained when the windows and other decorative features have been completely changed.

Norman porches were usually extremely shallow,‡ and the porches of the Early English period are much larger. Many religious services, such as those of baptism and marriage, had considerable portions which were celebrated in the porch.§ During the 13th century, the custom of elevating the Host after its consecration, for the adoration of the people, was introduced into England. To secure the attention of the congregation, as well as to inform persons outside of the moment at which the Host was elevated, it now became the custom to ring the *Sanctus*

* I merely throw this out as a conjecture; the comparative paucity of E.E. work in this district is a striking fact.

† Books on Architecture always say that Norman chancels were very short; but I have seen so many instances of long Norman chancels, some of them early, that I hardly think this law is so universal as is generally supposed.

‡ There are several exceptions to this rule in our district.

§ Bloxam, "Principles of Gothic Architecture," Vol. II.

or *Sacring* bell,* for which a special bell-cote was fixed on the roof, at the chancel end of the nave. There is one of these bell-cotes still in position on the roof of Staveley church. An ordinance of the year 1240, which continues the customary prohibition to the laity to stand in the chancel during Divine service, makes an exception in favour of patrons and personages of rank.

Towers were not common in country churches before the 15th century. Those towers which were built in Norman times were very low, and we often find that an upper storey has been added in later times. Spires first appear in the Early English period, and are frequent then and in the Decorated time. But as a rule I believe it will be found that the majority of English church towers are of the Perpendicular period. It was not uncommon to enlarge the church when the tower was built, by building it at a distance from the church, and then connecting it by adding another bay or two to the nave.†

Another addition very common in the 15th century was the raising of the nave walls, the flattening of the roof, and the addition of clerestory windows. These will generally be found to be of the Perpendicular style in country churches, though of course there are exceptions. Stone vaulting was rarely used in Norman times except

* So called because it was first rung at the *Sanctus* (Holy, holy, holy) with which the priest begins the Canon of the Mass; it was rung again at the elevation of the Host and at the elevation of the chalice.

† Micklethwaite on English Parish Churches, in "Lectures on Art," p. 112.

over the aisles, and wooden roofs are liable to decay ; it is very seldom therefore that an original Norman roof has been preserved,* and the roof is the most frequent object of restoration. The windows are another inconstant feature. Glass was used in both Saxon and Norman times, but sparingly ; it was not till the close of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century that coloured glass patterns began to be used. Small windows were then abandoned, and during the next two centuries windows kept constantly increasing in size,† to admit of a grand pictorial display which though sometimes devoted to personal memorials in the shape of heraldic blazonry, was also a means of instruction in lessons from Scripture and the legends of the saints. We shall therefore often find that even in a Norman church the windows are insertions of a later period. Sometimes we find a round-arched Norman window filled up with Perpendicular tracery ; but in the Decorated period they preferred to remove the old windows altogether, and insert new ones, thus changing very materially the whole appearance of the church.

Alas for the stained glass ! very little of it is left, and that little chiefly the memorials of family vanity rather than “the lovely image of Christ and His saints.” For the Act of 1547, which ordered the destruction of images, whether in sculpture or painted glass, expressly reserved

* The well-known Norman wooden roof at Peterborough Minster is the most remarkable instance.

† The real reason for the increased size of windows was the discovery of the constructional value of the pointed arch. Large openings in the wall were impracticable in the Norman style.

from defamation those images which were memorial and not objects of worship. What was spared at the Reformation in the way of religious painted glass (and Queen Elizabeth stayed the work of destruction) was conscientiously destroyed by the Puritans under the Commonwealth. And what was spared by the Puritans in the way of glass, sculpture, or architecture, has always been exposed to the ravages of the clergy and churchwardens, who in the 18th century especially, but in recent times as well, have done a good share of the work of destruction.*

We now pass to the details of the interior of the church. The most important part of the church furniture of course was the altar, which from the time it replaced the worship of heathenism, and came to be regarded as itself an altar of sacrifice in a literal sense, was built of stone. Though the destruction of these ancient altars, and the substitution of communion-tables for them, was ordered in Edward VI's reign, a few of the altar-slabs have been preserved, marked with the five crosses which symbolize the five wounds of Christ. Stone seats in the south wall, on the right hand of the altar, for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, where they sat during the chant-

* "It is not the fanatic and the rebel only upon whom we must charge the dilapidated state of our monumental brasses. Their combined injuries, wholesale and deplorable as they were, have probably since been almost equalled by those arising from the dishonesty, carelessness, and apathy of the proper guardians of them." Haines, "Monumental Brasses," I, CCLVII. Compare the remarks of Canon Cox in his "Notes on Derbyshire Churches," *passim*. It is of course needless to add that *some* of the clergy have always been among the best guardians of the antiquities committed to their charge.

ing of the Gloria in Excelsis, were part of the structure of the church at least as early as Norman times. In the succeeding styles of architecture, the most beautiful decoration was lavished on these *Sedilia*. A stone basin, or *piscina*, in which the priest washed his hands before mass, and an *aumry* or cupboard, in which the sacred vessels for the mass were kept, as well as the oil for anointing the sick, and the unconsecrated wafers, became further parts of the structure as early as the 12th century. Often there is a shelf enclosed in the same arch as the *piscina*; this is the credence-table, on which the wafer and wine stood before they were consecrated. The credence-table is sometimes a separate stone shelf or table. *Piscinas* level with the floor, called *ground piscinæ* are found in some of the Yorkshire Abbey churches.

In the N. wall of some chancels is yet to be seen a low arch like that of a tomb, with a flat slab underneath. This was the *Easter Sepulchre*, where a representation of the Resurrection was set up on Easter Sunday, after the Sepulchre had been watched through the night of Easter Even. In the S. wall of the chancel, near the ground, is sometimes found a small low window, known as the *Low Side window*, which is a standing puzzle to antiquaries. Some suppose it to have been the window through which the Friars were in the habit of hearing confessions; others think that it was the window by which some *anker* or hermit who had built his hutch or *ankerhold* against the outer wall of the chancel, watched the celebration of mass. There are difficulties in the way of both suppositions. A third theory is that it was the window from which the

Sanctus bell was rung, when there was no Sanctus bell-cote. There is sometimes a room over the church porch (called a Parvise), which in one case at least is known to have been the abode of an anker or ankeress. In some cases it may have been the lodging of the priest, when he came from a distance to celebrate mass.

As early as Norman times, a wooden screen appears to have replaced the curtain which separated the chancel from the nave in Anglo-Saxon churches.* The screen supported a solid gallery, called the Rood-loft, because the great Rood or crucifix was fixed there. A wooden screen of Norman date is preserved at the church of Compton, in Surrey. Many very beautiful screens of the Decorated and Perpendicular periods still exist in our churches. In the reign of Elizabeth, an order was issued that the Royal arms should be set up in churches, and they were frequently set up on the Rood-loft, in the place formerly occupied by the Rood. "Then you see," says Harpsfield, a Roman Catholic writer of the time, "instead of Christ's crucifix the arms of a mortal king set up on high, with a dog and a lion, which a man might well call the abomination of desolation."†

* It appears from a passage in Durandus that at the time when he wrote (towards the end of the 13th century), curtains or solid screens prevented the laity from seeing the clergy; and that the sanctuary was also separated by curtains from the choir. See Neale's translation of Durandus, "Symbolism of Churches," p. 63.

† Quoted in Bloxam's "Companion to Gothic Architecture," p. 114. This substitution of the royal arms for the rood had been tried previously in Edward VI's reign. Froude, "History of England," V, 33.

Pulpits of the mediæval period are not found in country churches, for it was seldom indeed that there was need of them. Such rare occasional sermons as were delivered were preached from the Rood-loft, or from the cross in the churchyard. The revival of preaching through the agency of the Friars and their successors the Wycliffites, led to a more general introduction of pulpits in the 15th century. But they were by no means universal, and in the reign of Edward VI an injunction was issued ordering every parish church to provide itself with a pulpit. This injunction had to be repeated in the reign of Elizabeth and at the accession of James I in 1603. A great many old carved pulpits in our churches date from between 1603 and 1640, and are a sign of the religious revival wrought by Puritanism; the round-arched panels, and flat arabesques in low relief, show the decorative fashion of the 17th century.

If we ask how the money was found for the alteration and enlargement of churches in mediæval times, we shall get a very interesting answer. The money by no means came exclusively out of the pocket of the great landowner of the neighbourhood. The principle of co-operation for a common end, which we find working at the very beginnings of English constitutional history, was made use of in religious matters also. Both in Anglo-Saxon times, and throughout the middle ages, religious guilds existed, consisting of men and women alike, associations of pious persons who provided out of their own means for various religious necessities which would otherwise have been neglected. Thus for example the Guild of Our Blessed Lady and the Holy Cross at Eckington was

founded* “by well-disposed persons who gave lands and tenements for finding of eleven priests to celebrate mass, and to pray for the brethren and sisters, and also to help towards the ministering of the Sacraments and other divine services; for the parish is large and divided into many hamlets, some two or three miles distant, so that when the Visitation of God† cometh amongst them, the parson and his parish priest is not sufficient in time of necessity to minister there.” Guilds of this kind would very often undertake the repair or enlargement of some portion of the church; and if their own funds did not suffice, they would raise money by a *Church Ale*, an institution which had many points of resemblance with the modern bazaar. The ale was brewed and given by the guild members, and paid for by the general public who gathered together to drink it, no doubt other amusement being provided.† There was a religious guild of this kind in Rotherham, called the Guild of the Holy Cross. We also hear of voluntary assessments consented to by the parishioners for the repair of churches.

It is probable that the main principle which lay at the foundation of guilds was that of mutual assurance for the next world. I have already spoken of the *great purgatory trade*, and its influence on the religion of the middle ages;

* V. Cox’s “Notes on Derbyshire Churches,” Eckington.

† That is, the Plague, which so frequently visited Europe in the middle ages.

† A copper cauldron for brewing ale for these festivals still exists in Frensham church, Surrey. Church ales were kept up in some counties as late as the last century. See Micklethwaite’s “Lecture on Parish Churches,” in “Lectures on Art.”

how monasteries were built and chantry chapels founded, in order that perpetual prayers might be offered to deliver the souls of their founders from purgatory. The guilds made use of the principle of co-operation for the same end. As individuals, their members were too poor to found churches, so they clubbed their funds together, and set a prayer-wheel working in the shape of a chantry priest. Along with this insurance for the future were associated other thoughts which might more truly be called pious, care for others, for the religious needs of the sick and of neglected or outlying districts; the words just quoted from the history of the guild at Eckington are an instance of this. At some few chantries priests were bound to teach a certain number of children belonging to the parish.* The foundation of chantries increased enormously in the 14th and 15th centuries, when the prosperity of the middle classes was increasing, and when monasteries had ceased to be founded.

These chantries have left their mark on the architecture of our churches. Very often a chantry chapel has been added at the E. end of each aisle, thus completely changing the ground plan of the church. Sometimes, without this structural addition, the new altar was raised at the end of one of the aisles, and a chapel created by screening off a portion of the aisle. The screened chapel appears to have been used as a sort of pew by the founder or his heirs, and in order that they might have a good view of the ceremony of the mass at the high altar, a *squint* or hagioscope was pierced through the angle between the chantry and

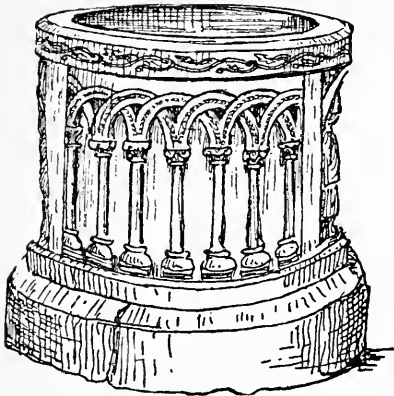
* The Chantry Certificates, Surtees Society, Preface.

chancel. These squints are very common in churches. Wherever we see a forgotten piscina or awmry in the wall of a church (besides that near the high altar) there we know there has once been a chantry, endowed with lands for the payment of a priest. As these chantries generally belonged to an influential family or guild, they often remained undisturbed when the rest of the church was rebuilt, so that we sometimes find a chantry older than the chancel or aisle to which it is attached.

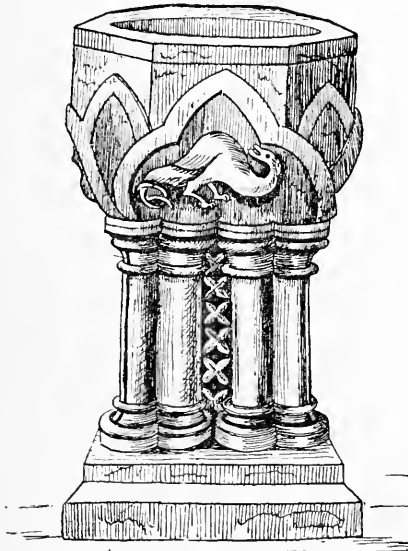
The dissolution of the chantries in the reign of Edward VI was one of the worst bungles of the Reformation. It was intended that the money should be used for education and the poor; but this splendid opportunity was lost. A sum of £25,000, which might be reckoned at £250,000 of our money, was wasted on an unrighteous war with Scotland, and on greedy officials and courtiers. Only a few schools which had been supported from the revenues of chantries were allowed to continue; one of these was that of Rotherham.

The Font is often one of the most ancient features of a church.* As a rule, fonts display in their mouldings and decorations the characteristics of the period to which they belong, but frequently the entire absence of decorative features makes it extremely difficult to determine their age; mere rudeness of execution being, as I have said before, no certain test of antiquity. In Norman times, the square or trough-shaped form was the most common,

* See "Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts," with introduction by F. A. Paley.



83.—NORMAN FONT AT THORPE SALVIN.



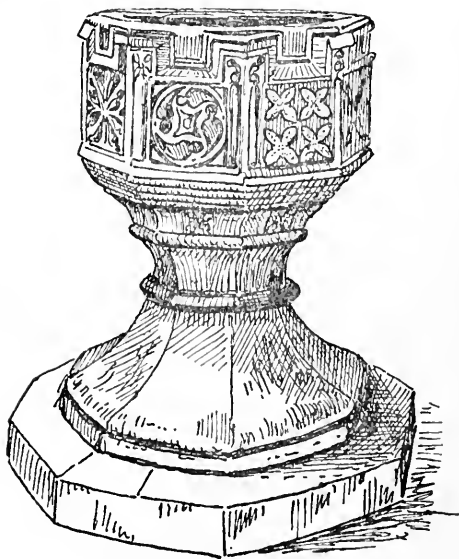
84.—EARLY ENGLISH FONT AT NORTON.

From Paley's "Baptismal Fonts."

but the circular or tub-shaped font is also of great antiquity. The tub-shaped font is sometimes octangular, even in the most ancient times.* The bowl, whether square or circular, is often supported on a pillared stem, or on a central pillar with surrounding shafts; this form is common both in Norman and E. E. fonts, though especially in E. E. There are instances of it in Dec. fonts (as at Marr), and even some rare ones in the Perp. period, but the chalice form, in which the cup rests on a single stem, prevails in both these later styles.

* See Appendix, Note X.

Norman fonts are often richly sculptured, and excel in symbolism and scenes. The little church of Thorpe Salvin in our district contains one of the finest Norman fonts in England (fig. 83). In the two next periods the ornament is chiefly architectural. Early English fonts are generally well executed, but they are rare; there is one at Norton (fig. 84). Strange to say, Dec. fonts are frequently among the worst cut of any. Perp. fonts on the other hand are generally very well made, and have often both sides and stem enriched with carved panelling (fig. 85). The lofty spire-shaped canopies which may be seen on many fonts (as at Harthill) did not come in earlier than the 15th century, though it was an ancient regulation that fonts should be kept covered.



85.—EARLY PERPENDICULAR FONT AT LAUGHTON.

CHAPTER XII.

TOMBS AND CROSSES.

Founders' Tombs—Sculptured Slabs—Effigies—Semi-effigial Monuments—Canopies—Brasses—Inscriptions—Armour—Ring-mail—The Surcoat—Armour in the Early English Period—In the Decorated Period—The Transition Decorated, or Camail Period—The Lancastrian Period—The Yorkist Period—The Early Tudor Period—Civil Costume—Ladies' Costume—The Family Monument—Ecclesiastics—Crosses—Anglo-Saxon Crosses—Knotwork Decoration—Keltic Crosses—Crosses in Ecclesfield Church—In Bradfield Church—At Bakewell—At Hope—At Eyam—At Doncaster—At Braithwell—At Barnborough—At Thrybergh—At Maltby.

THE Tombs are the features of a church to which the ordinary visitor generally turns with greatest interest. They have suffered greatly from Reformation mobs, and from the clergy and churchwardens of all ages,* but many remain in a fair state of preservation. A place near the high altar was the coveted spot for burial; but tombs have so often been moved about at times of church restoration that we can seldom be sure of their original position. Sculptured effigies have frequently been placed under niches which show by their mouldings that they are of much later date. The founder of a church or chantry

* Thus a certain Yorkshire vicar recently used a part of an ancient tomb of the Darcy family to form a new credence table!

generally had his tomb built into the wall near the altar, under a low arch.

During the first century after the Norman conquest, the most common form of monument was the coped or hog-backed slab (*dos-de-l'âne*) which was in fact the lid of a stone coffin lying underneath. Tombs of this shape continued to be used until the end of the 14th century. Flat slabs were also used, diminishing in width from the head towards the feet. These slabs were sculptured with crosses, often beautifully foliated,* and sometimes in very high relief, with devices symbolical of the trade or station of the person who was buried beneath them.†

Monumental effigies do not appear till the 12th century, and are rare until the middle of the 13th.‡ At first they were executed in flat relief; those in full relief are generally not earlier than the 13th century. A curious type of monument was sometimes used in the 13th and 14th centuries, especially in certain districts; the effigy is represented as partly emerging from the sepulchral slab (see fig. 105, Chapter XIII). These have been called

* Bloxam says: "The richest sepulchral monuments I have seen bearing crosses sculptured in relief are some I have met with in South Yorkshire." Paper read before Yorks. Architect. Society, York, 1849. See fig. 104, Chapter XIII, for a fine slab of the E.E. period at Tickhill; and fig. 100, Chapter XIII, for a very remarkable Norman tombstone at Conisborough.

† Those slabs which are carved in very high relief probably belong to the Early English period. It has been ingeniously conjectured that the *shears* and the *keys* which are so extremely common mark a woman's grave. See Charlton on Sepulchral Symbols, "Archæolog. Journal," V 253.

‡ Stothard's "Monumental Effigies."

semi-effigial monuments.* Elegant canopies over recumbent figures came in during the 13th century. Altars or table-tombs became common during the 14th century, and have sometimes the most highly decorated canopies over them. These tomb canopies were also the objects of lavish decoration in the Perpendicular period. Slabs inlaid with brasses were introduced in the middle of the 13th century, and became common in the next century.† In the reign of Edward I, armorial bearings began to be used as decorations of the tombs of persons of rank; and these emblems of worldly vanity, having made good their footing in the house of God, ran an ever increasing riot there in the three following centuries, till in the 16th century they form the most important part of the decorations of such a structure as King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

Effigies or brasses representing skeletons belong to the morbid taste of the 15th century, which revelled in images of death, and which introduced the Dance of Death into art.

Monumental inscriptions are rare before the 14th century. From the beginning of the 11th century till about 1350 the Langobardic letters were employed, a picturesque version of Roman type. About 1350, the Black letter

* There are two good examples of this type at Wadworth, one in the churchyard, and one in the S.E. chantry chapel.

† Brasses are less common in the N. and W. of England, where stone abounds, than they are in the E. and S. See Macklin's "Monumental Brasses."

was introduced, and lasted till about 1530; there was then a short revival of Langobardic in a debased form, but towards the middle of the 16th century Roman letters came in. Inscriptions were more often in Norman French than in Latin till towards the end of the 14th century. From 1400 onward Latin became most common.*

The mediæval sculptors always represented their effigies or their brasses in the dress actually worn at the time, the ridiculous idea that a dead person was only presentable in a semi-classical costume being reserved for more enlightened ages. Their monumental effigies are consequently invaluable illustrations of the costumes of the period to which they belong, and a few brief notes on costume may therefore be useful here.†

The effigies of knights and nobles are almost always in armour, and the history of armour is therefore the most important part of the history of costume, for practical archæology. The Bayeux tapestry shews that the costume of the Normans at the time of the Conquest was a *hauberk* or tunic of ring-mail,‡ a short pointed helmet with a

* Cutts' "Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages."

† See Planche's "History of British Costume," and his "Cyclopædia of Costume"; Stothard's "Monumental Effigies"; Macklin's "Monumental Brasses"; Racinet "Le Costume Historique," Vol. II; Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages"; Smith's "Ancient Costume in Great Britain"; Boutell's "Christian Monuments"; Boutell's "Monumental Brasses and Slabs"; Cutts' "Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses"; Cotman's "Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk and Suffolk"; Meyrick's "Ancient Armour"; Haines' "Manual of Monumental Brasses."

‡ I adopt here the opinion of Mr. Brett (Ancient Arms and Armour, 1894) who considers that the pictures in the Bayeux tapestry prove that

nose-piece to protect the nose, and a very long kite-shaped shield.* The English Harold is represented in the Tapestry in precisely the same costume. The conical caps, and kite-shaped shields are good indications of Norman work for at least a century after that time. But it is doubtful whether we have any monumental effigies of the Norman period in England; they certainly are not common till the 13th century.†

Effigies of the twelfth century and the greater part of the thirteenth represent the knights in what is generally called ring-mail, though some antiquaries believe it to be only a conventional method of representing chain-mail. It looks like rows of rings set edgeways. The legs, hands, and head are now covered by the same material. Over

the ring armour then worn consisted of rings outside as well as inside, and was therefore real chain-mail, and not as commonly supposed, iron rings or plates sewn on to a leather tunic. He denies that chain-mail was introduced from the East; Anna Comnena, the historian of the Eastern empire in the 11th century speaks with astonishment of the Frank knights in their iron armour. The Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf speaks of "the twisted breast-net"; and coats of mail, apparently of Roman manufacture, have been found in Sweden in tombs of the 4th century A.D. See Montelius, "*Les Temps Préhistoriques en Suède*," p. 172.

* In some of the pictures in the Tapestry, the hauberk looks as though it had trousers; but other pictures prove that this only means that the skirt of it was slit up the front for convenience in riding. See Planche, "*History of Costume*," 58, Note 10.

† The supposed effigy of Geoffrey de Magnaville, who died in 1144, in the Temple Church, might claim to be of Stephen's reign, but its details point rather to the reign of Henry II, and it is recorded that his body was not deposited in the Temple Church till long after his death. The earliest effigy of an English king is that of Henry II at Fontevrault

the mail hood the knight now wears the *chapelle-de-fer*, which in William Rufus' time was like a conical iron hat with a slight brim, while Henry I's seal shows a mail hood drawn over a round steel cap. Ring-mail, which first appears as royal costume on Stephen's seal, was not the only kind of armour worn in the 12th century. *Scale* armour of small pointed iron plates, or *teglated* armour, of square plates, or wadded leather hauberks called *gambesons*, were the principal other varieties, and these may be sometimes seen on the effigies of the next century. The 12th century saw the introduction of the *Surcoat*, a sleeveless tunic worn over the hauberk (fig. 86), originally intended to protect the wearer of metal armour from the insufferable heat of the sun. As early as the reign of Stephen, it was emblazoned with the arms of its owner.* The surcoat is not found on the seal of any English king until that of John (1199); the seal of Henry II is without a surcoat, and that of Richard I shews a long tunic flowing down *under* the hauberk. On baronial seals the surcoat occurs much earlier.

Roughly speaking, the principal changes in armour correspond in time to the changes in architectural style. Thus the period of mailed effigies came in with the Transition Norman and Early English style, about 1175, (dates in these matters are merely approximate); the period of mixed plate and mail corresponds to the Decorated period, though somewhat later in beginning, the first instance

* See an article on the Introduction of Armorial Bearings into England, by M. Round, "Archæological Journal," LI.



86.—ARMOUR AND COSTUME IN THE EARLY ENGLISH PERIOD.

13th Century.

being about 1315;* and the period of plate armour corresponds roughly to the Perpendicular era. Under these main periods sundry other changes may be grouped.

I.—Early English period (fig. 86). A flat topped helmet, with a visor over the face, and ring mail armour, are both characteristic of this period. The surcoat when first introduced was very long, reaching to the ankles. Afterwards its length varied, reaching sometimes to the calf, sometimes only to the knees, but these changes seem to correspond to individual fancy rather than to any particular date. The long kite-shaped Norman shield goes through a series of transformations in this epoch. In 1186 its top is flat instead of curved; it gradually decreases in length, and is about half its former length during the first half of the 13th century. By the middle of the century it has taken the short flat heater-shaped form which it retained for the next two centuries.† In monumental effigies, the knight is generally represented with his hand on his sword, sometimes drawing it, sometimes holding it erect.

II.—Decorated period (fig. 87). Chain mail, whether merely a difference in representation or a real difference in armour, begins to be seen on effigies towards the close

* There is possibly a much earlier instance in the effigy in Kildwick Church, Craven, which is supposed to be that of Sir Robert Styveton, 1307. An inventory of Piers Gaveston's armour in 1313 mentions jammers of iron. Stothards' "Monumental Effigies."

† Some effigies of Edward II's reign have rather long shields.

of Henry III's reign.* It does not however entirely supersede the kind of work which is called ring-mail, and about 1325 another type appears which is called *banded ring mail* from the bands which appear between the rows of rings; this lasted, along with chain mail, until both were superseded by plate. About 1277 (the first dated instance) a remarkable change took place in the attitude of monumental effigies. From this time, with rare exceptions, chiefly of royal personages, they are represented with the hands clasped upon the breast in prayer. The idea of *dying game* is no longer predominant, but the spirit of humility and trust prevails. The change is significant, when coupled with the increasing grace and loveliness which is seen in architecture at the same time. The *helmet* throughout this period is conical in shape. Pieces of plate armour on the front parts of the arms and legs appear as early as 1307. *Roundels* of plate, sometimes highly ornamented, are now fixed to the shoulders and elbows. About 1320 the surcoat changes its shape, becoming very short in front, and slit up the sides, while still long behind; it is now called the *cyclas*. Underneath the short apron of this cyclas may be seen a whole series of garments with which the poor knight was padded, to relieve the pressure of his iron panoply, and also for further protection, as one of these garments is the wadded *gambeson*. A trivial sign of date, but one which I believe will be found to hold good, is that effigies of the

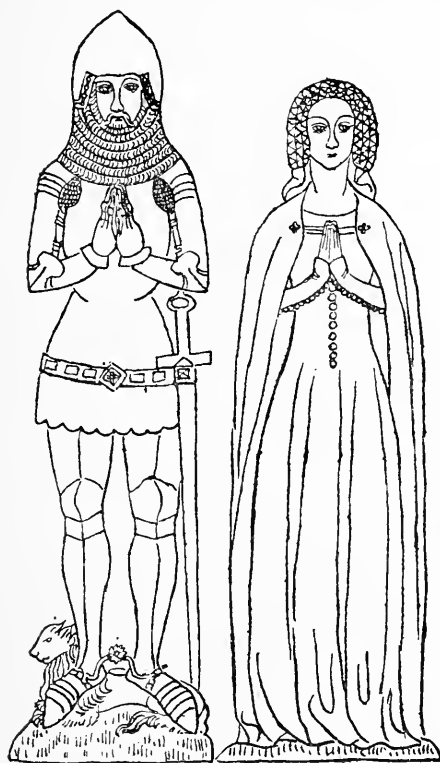
* Haines ("Manual of Monumental Brasses," CXLIX) thought ring mail might possibly be only a conventional way of representing chain mail.



87.—ARMOUR AND COSTUME IN THE DECORATED PERIOD,
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

The *Surcote Overte* worn by the lady continued in fashion for at least a hundred years; the figure in the background represents the older form of it.

Decorated period have two cushions under the head, while those of the previous period have only one.



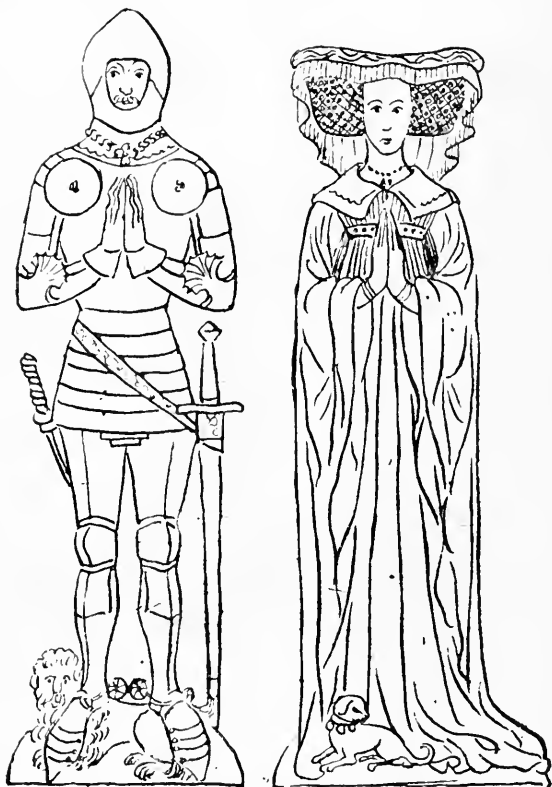
88.—COSTUME IN THE CAMAIL PERIOD.
Circa 1350 to circa 1410.

From Cotman's "Brasses of Norfolk."

Considerable changes in the costume both of men and women took place in the middle of Edward III's reign, corresponding to the Transition Decorated period of architecture.* Plate had now superseded mail, except that gussets of mail were worn at the arm-pits, elbow joints, and insteps, and a neck piece of mail, called the *camail*, was attached to the helmet or bassinet (now sharply pointed), and covered the neck and

* Mr. Macklin dates the *Camail period* from about 1350 to the beginning of Henry IV's reign.

shoulders (fig. 88). The cyclas is now abandoned for the *jupon*, a very short sleeveless tunic, below which the edge of the mail hauberk can generally be seen. The arms and legs are now entirely covered with plates, but the *cuisse*s, or armour for the thighs, are often ornamented



89.—COSTUME IN THE LANCASTRIAN PERIOD.

Circa 1410 to circa 1455.

From Haines' "Monumental Brasses."



90.—ARMOUR AND COSTUME IN THE YORKIST PERIOD.
 Circa 1455 to Circa 1483.

with *pourpointerie*, a satin covering on which metal studs are fixed. The *baldric* or swordbelt, richly ornamented, runs horizontally round the hips. The feet are protected by *sollerets* of steel plates.

III.—Perpendicular period. With the full-blown Perp. of Henry IV's reign we come to complete plate armour. The camail disappears, and is replaced by a gorget of steel; the jupon also vanishes, and a skirt of steel *taces* or horizontal plates appears instead, below the cuirass, which is now for the first time visible. The helmet takes the shape of the head, and is first adorned with plumes in the reign of Henry V. The sword is fastened by a transverse instead of a horizontal belt.* But the pace of change now begins to be faster, and archæologists subdivide the Perpendicular period into†

1.—The Lancastrian period, as above, from about 1407 to about 1455 (fig. 89).

2.—The Yorkist period, 1455 to 1485 (fig. 90). Armour is now remarkable for its exaggerated and fantastic character. *Tuiles* or additional plates buckled on to the *taces*, which had appeared in the preceding period, now become of great size; the *coudes* or elbow-protections are nearly as big as helmets; enormous *pauldrons* with *pass-guards*

* The engraving of plate armour began with this period, and some of the suits of armour of this and the following century are superb specimens of decorative art.

† See Macklin's "Monumental Brasses," where the changes in these different periods are given with more detail than I have space for here. There are of course transition specimens between all the periods.

attached, protect the shoulders; the cuirass has two additional portions, called *placcates* and *demi-placcates*, the latter tapering upward to a point. A skirt of mail now appears between the *tuiles*, and a mail collar is worn instead of the steel gorget.

3.—The Early Tudor period, 1485-1558 (fig. 91). The extravagances of the Yorkist period now subside, or are dismissed altogether. The distinguishing marks of the period are the skirt of mail appearing below the *taces* and *tuiles*, and the round-toed *sabbotons* on the feet, instead of the sharp-toed *sollerets*. The *tabard*, a waistless tunic blazoned with heraldic bearings, is frequently worn.

4.—The Elizabethan period, 1558. The cuirass is now long waisted, and ridged up the front. The armour seldom comes below the hips, though at the beginning of the period small plates of steel called *tassets* or *lamboys* were worn over the full stuffed breeches of Elizabeth's reign. The armour of the Stuart period was of the same character, but all plates for the thighs and legs were disused; and thus we reach the period when armour disappeared entirely. At the end of the 17th century it became the custom to drape monumental effigies in classical costume.

Effigies or brasses of men in civil costume are comparatively rare until the time of the Tudors; there are probably none earlier than the 14th century. Those of Edward II's reign may be known by the long curly or wavy hair, the tunic with loose hanging sleeves to the elbows, under which are seen the tight sleeves of an under garment,



91.—ARMOUR AND COSTUME IN THE EARLY TUDOR PERIOD.

1483—1558.

with a row of buttons to the wrist.* The short cape with a hood, which had been worn from Norman times, was still the out-of-door covering, and in effigies we occasionally find this hood folded into a bunch and balanced on the top of the head. During Edward III's reign this cape was exchanged for a long cloak buttoning on the right shoulder; the sleeves of the under garment became mitten-sleeves covering half the hands, and the sleeves of the tunic had immensely long lappets. The tunic, which had been long in the preceding reigns, was changed during Edward III's reign to the very short tunic worn with long tight hose which may be seen in the effigy of his young son William of Hatfield in York Cathedral. Deep wide sleeves, long gowns, and long-toed shoes were worn in Richard II's reign. The hair was cut short in Henry IV's reign, and continues so until late in the Yorkist period. The collar of S.S., an order instituted by this sovereign, is frequently seen on effigies of this and the succeeding reigns. Men's gowns were worn both long and short in this reign and the following. From the middle of Henry VI's reign, to the close of the reign of Richard III, the extravagant fashions which shewed themselves in armour during the Yorkist period were reflected in civil dress. The chaperon or hood had a tail trailing on the ground; hats of fantastic shape were worn, and shoes with immensely long toes called *poulaines*. The doublets were hollowed out at the neck, and had long hanging sleeves with tight ones underneath. In Edward IV's reign the doublet was extremely short, with slit

* See fig. 98, Chapter XIII, the effigy in Anston church.

sleeves. The collar of roses and suns was the decoration of the Yorkist period. Late in this period long hair was again introduced. In Henry VII's time the hood at last disappears; shoes became extremely broad at the toes, and over the short doublet long coats with hanging sleeves were worn, which sometimes reached to the ground (see fig. 91). It is hardly necessary to describe the dress of the succeeding centuries, with which we are so familiar through pictures.

There seems to have been comparatively little change in ladies' dress from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Edward III. A close fitting gown, rather long, with a girdle and close-fitting sleeves (the sleeves being the most variable feature) a mantle fastened across the chest by a strap or ribbon,* a veil on the head, and a wimple muffling up the throat and ears, appear on effigies and in manuscripts from the 12th century to the 14th (see fig. 86). A sleeveless surcoat, as long as the dress, is worn over it in the reign of Edward I, and in this and the following reign the wimple and head-gear are so arranged as to give a triangular look to the face, which may often be remarked on corbels between 1250 and 1330.† In Edward II's reign ladies wore the same tightly buttoned sleeves, with loose but not very long hanging sleeves over them, which are seen in men's dress of the same reign. In Edward

* Perhaps this is an artistic convention, enabling the artist to represent the lady's in-door and out-of-door dress at the same time, as we can hardly imagine ladies going about their houses in these long mantles.

† Boutell's "Monumental Brasses," 80. See the effigy of Avelina Countess of Lancaster in Westminster Abbey, 1269.

III's reign we find these replaced by mitten sleeves covering half the hands, and immensely long straight lappets hanging from the upper sleeve. The Transition Decorated period of this reign corresponds to great changes in ladies' dress. The hideous wimple was now dropped, or when retained is a sign of widowhood.* The veil at the back of the head is sometimes but not invariably worn, and the plaits of hair which had been worn on each side the face for the first half of the century, became much more elaborate towards its close. A singular garment was introduced (there are instances as early as 1349) which at first sight appears to be a jacket handsomely trimmed with fur, but on closer inspection it is evident that this trimming is only a framework to which a skirt is attached (see fig. 87), and through which the bodice, sleeves, and girdle of the under garment are visible. This dress, called the *surcote overte*, was worn for at least a century, but it had for a time a competitor in a simpler costume, a long gown gathered into a girdle at the waist, with a broad turn down collar at the neck (and sometimes another over it) and with full bishop sleeves with deep cuffs at the wrists (fig. 89).

Using the same divisions of the Perpendicular period for ladies' dress which we have used for men's armour, we shall find that the *Lancastrian period* was marked by a gradual development of ladies' head-gear. To enclose the hair in a network of gold thread had become fashionable in the reign of Edward III; a roll of rich stuff encircled

* An ordinance of Henry VII regulated how high the *barbe*, a pleated wimple worn by widows, should come, according to rank.

the top of the head in the reign of Richard II. This roll was still worn in Henry IV's reign, but the masses of hair, enclosed in network, project squarely on each side the face. In the reign of Henry V the *horned* head-dress (fig. 89) was superadded to the netted plaits, a hideous erection truly. In Henry VI's long reign, ladies' head gear was for the most part either horned or heart-shaped; the latter shape is often called the *mitre* head-dress (see fig. 90); those who had simpler taste wore turbans. Gowns had enormous trains, short waists, and sleeves of all descriptions; the *surcote overte* was also still worn. The extravagances of head-gear culminated in the *Yorkist period*, when the *Hennin* was introduced, an immense extinguisher-like cap, with a long veil hanging from it (fig. 90). The butterfly head-dress was also worn; it was like a truncated hennin, with wired wings of veiling on each side. The *surcote overte* now disappears, and very short bodices, opening in front, with deep waist-bands, became the fashion.

With the *Early Tudor period* the extravagant head-gear subsided; ladies now began to wear the pedimental head-dress, a hood of velvet pointed over the forehead, which may be seen in so many portraits of this time (fig. 91). Gowns were cut square in front, and had bishop sleeves. The pedimental head-dress held its ground to the end of Henry VIII's reign, when the "Paris Cap" which we generally call the Mary Queen of Scots cap, made its appearance.* The dress of the *Elizabethan period* (fig. 92),

* Planche, "History of Costume," 248.



92.—COSTUME IN THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD.
1558—1603.

is familiar to us from the portraits of Queen Elizabeth. The long-waisted bodice, the ruff, and the hideous hoop, were its chief innovations. The ruff was at first of modest size, and it was not till the middle of Elizabeth's reign that it reached its enormous dimensions. The ruff and hoop held their ground through the next reign, but a wide stiff collar was sometimes worn instead of the ruff. The hair was brushed back and raised above the head. This fashion was reversed in the next reign (Charles I's) when curls were worn all round the face, the neck was bared, loose hanging sleeves and long skirts were worn.

In the reign of Henry VII the family procession of parents and children, all kneeling, became the favorite type of monument both for effigies and brasses. It continued in fashion till the end of James I's reign or even later, almost till the time when the classical female weeping over an enormous urn became the prevailing style.

The garments of ecclesiastics underwent little change during the periods represented in effigies and brasses, as they were fixed by tradition. The style of hair dressing however, often supplies a clue to the date. In the Decorated period it is long and wavy; in the early Perpendicular short and apparently rolled under round the head; in the late Perpendicular (from the end of the Yorkist period till Elizabeth's reign) rather long and straight. The episcopal mitre underwent a good deal of change. The early mitres are low and plain; the high mitres did not come in till the Perpendicular era, and

were not adorned with crockets till the end of the 15th century.

§ 2.—CROSSES.

In our country churchyards, we frequently find an object which is far older than the church itself. This is the remains of the ancient churchyard cross. Often there is nothing left of it but the steps on which it once stood; sometimes a portion of the ancient shaft remains, and occasionally it supports a sun-dial. It is conjectured by an eminent antiquary (the present Bishop of Stepney) that these crosses mark the site of the original preaching stations of the first missionaries to our pagan forefathers. It may often have been many years before a church was built, and a regular ministry established, and in the meantime the converts who died were buried around the cross. Thus the cemetery arose before the church; and it will generally be found that the remains of the cross are equi-distant from the church and the ancient bounds of the grave-yard. The church was always built to the S. of the grave-yard, that it might not cast a shadow on the graves. These crosses were removed at the time of the Reformation, but often they were buried or preserved in other ways, so that many examples or fragments still exist, even from Anglo-Saxon times, and are of the greatest interest and beauty. I cannot refrain from quoting here some words from the above-mentioned antiquary on the deplorable fact that so many of these monuments are allowed still to be exposed to the action of rain and frost in the open air of our church-yards. "It too often happens that those who have the custody of stones of this

character, even when they recognize that they are of priceless value from their great age, the skill of their design and execution, and the fact that no other nation of Europe has such memorials, are disposed to argue that what has lasted so well for ten or eleven hundred years will stand the weather for any number of years more. They forget that the fragments have been carefully preserved in the soil, for all these centuries, and that they will perish like any other stone in this smoky nineteenth century.”*

The district which we are studying is peculiarly rich in these monuments. The Derbyshire crosses are well-known to fame, but within the Yorkshire border there are several stones of the same type, as well as others of later date, but well deserving of attention. Many of these stones are ornamented with various forms of those elaborate *knotwork* or *interlacing* patterns which are popularly called, sometimes “Runic,” sometimes “Keltic,” sometimes “Scandinavian.” I will not enter here into the vexed question of the source through which these patterns were introduced into the North of England.† It is undisputed that they were a universal feature of decorative art in Europe between the 6th and the 12th centuries. Crosses with knotwork decoration are not found in England except in the districts which were colonized by the Anglian section of our Old-English ancestors, and in Cornwall.

* On the “Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones of Derbyshire,” by the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.

† See Appendix, Note Y.

Fragments showing the same style of decoration are however found in all parts of England.

It can hardly be without significance that the crosses decorated with knotwork, when they are found in England, are invariably of the form which antiquarians call Keltic, and which is not found outside the British islands. The peculiarity of this form is the semi-circular hollows at the intersections of the arms, which may be seen, for example, in the cross at Eyam.* Moreover, they are all found in that part of the country which was under the influence of the Scoto-Irish church of Iona, through its daughter church of Lindisfarne. The Derbyshire crosses are in the diocese of Lichfield, and St. Chad, the first bishop of Lichfield, and the apostle of Mercia, had been trained at Lindisfarne, by Aidan the Scot, and had been to Ireland to study. It is therefore a very tempting theory to regard the beautiful knotwork crosses of this district as signs of the former presence of the missionaries of the Scoto-Irish church. The best authorities however put down the crosses of Eyam and Bakewell to much later, almost to Norman times. From the great number of fragments which remain in Derbyshire and other parts of the ancient kingdom of Mercia, there can be no doubt that the ancient artists of Mercia were extremely skilful in the use of these patterns, and that their work is no mere copying, but has the ease and power of original design. Interlacing patterns are not the only ones employed; there are

* See Anderson's "Scotland in Early Christian Times," Second Series, p. 53.



FIG. 93.—
SHEFFIELD CROSS.

Shewing Scroll-work
and
Knot-work combined.

also very beautiful scroll designs with foliage and fruit, and sometimes human figures intermixed. The Yorkshire part of our district is so near the Mercian border that we might expect, as we find, that its crosses are of the same character as those of Derbyshire.

Crosses were not only set up as mission-stations, they were also erected to mark the boundaries of lands possessed by churches or abbeys; some were put up by the side of roads, either as landmarks, or for places of prayer for travellers, as on the continent at the present day. Many, too, were undoubtedly funereal monuments, as their inscriptions testify.* I will now endeavour to give a complete catalogue of the ancient crosses in the neighbourhood of Sheffield and Rotherham, both those which have knotwork decoration and the earlier and later ones which are without it.

* Runic inscriptions, which are so frequently found in company with interlacing work, do not occur on the crosses of this district, with one single exception, a stone found at Bakewell, and now in the Sheffield Museum.

I.—ANGLO-SAXON CROSSES.

1.—The cross inside Ecclesfield church (fig. 94). It was found buried in the churchyard a few years ago. It

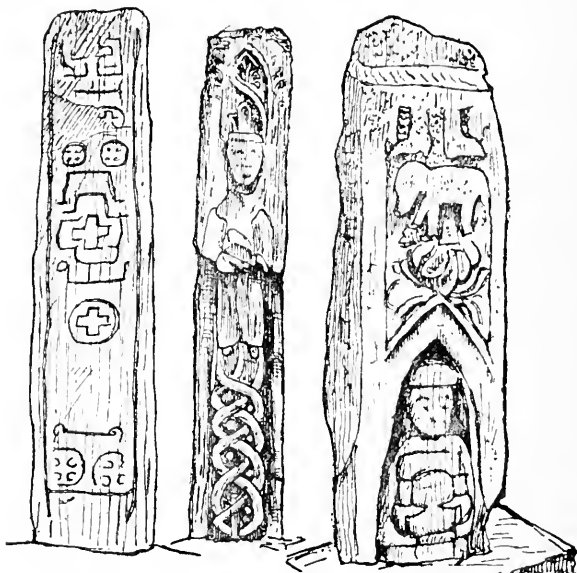


FIG. 94.

FIG. 95.

FIG. 96.

94.—ECCLESFIELD CROSS. 95.—BARNBOROUGH CROSS.

96.—THRYBERGH CROSS.

has every appearance of very remote antiquity; its ornamentation, which is very slight, is of a more archaic character than knot-work.

2.—The cross now inside Bradfield church. This was probably a wayside or boundary cross, as it was found at some distance from the church, in a field near the Cross Inn. It is of the form called Keltic (see above p. 196,) and

the half balls with which it is decorated are a common feature in Keltic crosses.

3.—The cross-shaft in Bakewell churchyard. Bishop Browne believes that one of the stones preserved in the porch of that church is a portion of one of the arms of this cross; this fragment has interlacing work, while the cross has not. "The ornamentation of the great cross at Bakewell consists of a magnificent scroll, springing alternately right and left from a sort of cornucopiæ. The scroll at the top has a somewhat nondescript animal nibbling at the topmost bunch of fruit. Now, the Northmen believed in a sacred tree, known as the world-ash, in which four harts nibbled the buds. The harts shown on a stone at York may have reference to this part of the story. The tree was, besides, a pathway for the messenger between the gods and the earth, and this messenger was the squirrel. I suggest that the animal on the Bakewell cross recalls this early belief, for nondescript as it is there is no question at all that its forelegs clutching the fruit excellently represent the attitude of a squirrel with a nut in its paws. In this case we should have, as we have so remarkably in the Gosforth cross, a combination of the Christian and the Teutonic religious beliefs, the Christian tree of life, and the pagan messenger of the gods in its topmost branches. No one who knows the magnificent cross at Ruthwell in Dumfries-shire, need be told where to look for a graceful original of the Bakewell squirrel."* At the bottom of this scroll is a figure which is probably the remains of a bow, and formed part of one of those

* "The Præ-Norman Crosses of Derbyshire," p. 6.

representations of a man shooting with a bow which are so frequently combined with these scroll patterns. Above the scroll is a riding figure, perhaps meant for Our Lord's entry into Jerusalem; and on the other side of the cross two other scripture scenes.

4.—The cross-shaft in the rectory garden at Hope. Found in the wall of an old school. In the centre of a shaft two figures grasping a staff are represented. The interlacing work on the back is very beautiful. "The pattern is exactly the same as that on one of the Ilam stones (Staffs.) and anything which points to resemblances in a kingdom of the Heptarchy rather than in a county, is of value."*

5.—A cross-shaft found in a private garden in Sheffield; a cast of it is now in the Weston Park Museum (fig. 93). This shaft is of the same type as the Derbyshire stones, and has on one side a scroll pattern with fruit and leaves, and the figure of the archer, kneeling; on the other side knot-work and scroll-work. In the same museum is a hog-backed stone with ornamentation of the same type as these crosses, but exceedingly curious; it originally came from Bakewell.

6.—The cross at Eyam. This is the most striking cross in the district, being the only one of the knot-work crosses in this region which has preserved its head and arms. The upper two feet of the shaft are missing. It is adorned with busts of angels and a handsome scroll-pattern, and with some very beautiful knot-work. Bishop Browne considers it late, and almost Norman in style.

* *Ib.* p. 13.

II.—TRANSITION NORMAN PERIOD.

7.—The cross of Otte de Tilli at Doncaster. It is in the form of a Transition Norman pillar, and stands by the side of the Retford road, where it enters the town on the S.E., on some raised ground which is said to be part of the old Roman road. Unfortunately it is only a copy of the original cross, which was taken down in 1792, and the materials lost;* and there seems to be considerable doubt whether it is a trustworthy copy. The inscription is a modern attempt to copy the ancient Norman-French one, which ran: “*Iceest est la crucie Ote de Tilli a ki alme Deu en face merci Amen.*”—(This is the cross of Otto de Tilli, on whose soul God have mercy). Otte or Otto de Tilli was seneschal of Conisborough in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II.

8.—Braithwell. This is the stump of a market cross, with an inscription (restored by an unskilful hand) which has been supposed to support the legend that Richard I granted the right of holding a fair to this village, in return for a large sum voluntarily raised for his ransom. The inscription however was thus read by Pegge: “*Jesu le fiz Marie—pense toi—le frere no roy—je vus prie.*”—(Jesus Son of Mary, think of the brother of our king, I pray you). Hunter conjectures that it was set up for Earl Hameline, half brother of Henry II, who was lord of Conisborough Castle at the end of the 12th century.†

9.—The cross-shaft in Barnborough church-yard (fig. 95). It is in two pieces, and was found buried in two

* See “Old Yorkshire,” I, 36. † Hunter, “Deanery of Doncaster.”

places, partly in the churchyard, partly under the foundations of the present church. It has pilasters at the angles, with voluted capitals. On two sides a figure is represented, wearing a priest's stole crossed over the breast, and there are panels of interlacing work.

III.—EARLY ENGLISH PERIOD.

10.—The limestone cross on the East Hill at Thrybergh (fig. 96). The lancet arch on this cross shows that it cannot be earlier than the close of the 12th century. The figure within the arch may be supposed to be St. Leonard, grasping a book. Above, there appears to have been a Crucifixion. There is a very bold knot-work pattern on the sides, of a kind common on Anglo-Saxon stones. This cross has a legend connected with it, which runs thus: The beautiful heiress of Thrybergh had married a Reresby, who went to the Holy Land. Report of his death came to Thrybergh, and the lady unwillingly allowed herself to be betrothed to another. But just as the marriage was about to take place, the absent Reresby, who had been taken prisoner by the Saracens, was miraculously carried to the East hill at Thrybergh, gyves, fetters, and all. The cross on the East Hill is supposed to commemorate this event, and the hero has even been converted into a second St. Leonard, patron saint of the church. But there is sufficient evidence to show that the church was dedicated to the original St. Leonard; and the cross was built long before the Reresbys came to Thrybergh. The legend is one which is found in many forms and in many places. The cross was probably a boundary cross, showing the limits either of the possessions of the church of Thrybergh,

or of its judicial *soke*, *i.e.*, its right to the fines for all offences committed within that district. This was a considerable source of revenue in mediæval times.

11.—A sandstone cross-shaft in the middle of a field at Thrybergh, which once stood in the middle of the village green, now alas! enclosed by the spoiler. The patterns on this cross are entirely of a foliated character, and may probably be ascribed to the 13th century.

IV.—DECORATED PERIOD.

12.—A cross in the village of Maltby, much defaced, appears to belong to this period. It would no doubt be a place of prayer for pilgrims coming to Roche Abbey.

CHAPTER XIII.

ANCIENT CHURCHES OF THIS DISTRICT.

Difficulties in deciding the Dates of Buildings—Proportion of Styles in this District—Adwick-le-Street—Anston—Aston—Bakewell—Barlborough—Barlow—Barnborough—Baslow—Beighton—Bolsover—Bradfield—Braithwell—Brampton—Brodsworth—Castleton—Chesterfield—Clown—Conisborough—Darfield—Dronfield—Eckington—Ecclesfield—Edlington—Eyam—Handsworth—Harthill—Hathersage—Hooton Roberts—Hope—Killamarsh—Laughton—Loversal—Maltby—Marr—Melton Mexborough—Norton—Padley Chapel—Penistone—Rawmarsh—Rotherham—Bridge Chapel—Sheffield—Silkstone—South Kirkby—Sprothorough—Stainton—Staveley—Steetley—Tannersley—Thorpe Salvin—Thrybergh—Tickhill—Todwick—Tretton—Wadworth—Wales—Wath—Wentworth—Whitwell—Wombwell—Worsborough.

THIS chapter is an attempt to catalogue the ancient churches which are to be found within twelve miles of Sheffield or Rotherham, and to trace to some extent their architectural history. I offer it to the public with considerable diffidence, because being pioneer work, (as regards the Yorkshire part of the district at any rate) and that by an amateur, it is impossible that it should be free from mistakes. I wish it to be regarded as an attempt to awaken interest in the architecture of these churches rather than as the expression of final conclusions on the

subject. For the churches which lie in Derbyshire, Canon Cox, in his "Notes on Derbyshire Churches" has collected an immense amount of valuable information, which has rendered my task comparatively easy, even though I have occasionally been compelled to differ from some of his architectural conclusions. But for the Yorkshire churches I have seldom found any such assistance. Hunter's great works on the Deanery of Doncaster* and the Parish of Sheffield,† while exhaustive as regards the history of the county families, are very weak in the architectural and archæological parts. The history of English architecture was not understood in his time, and a great deal of work which is now known to be Norman was then believed to be Saxon.‡ Some information about the churches of this neighbourhood is to be found scattered in the journals of various archæological associations, and in antiquarian magazines. But in the main I have had to trust my own eyes; by no means infallible sources of information. The diagnosis of an ancient church is anything but a simple matter; there are abundance of traps into which even the wisest of experts have been known occasionally to fall. When ancient work has been re-dressed, it is very difficult to tell it from modern; and modern work which has been exposed for fifty or seventy years to smoke and weathering

* "South Yorkshire": the History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster. 1819.

† "Hallamshire": the History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield. In the new edition of this work, edited by Dr. Gatty, some valuable architectural information has been supplied.

‡ Under the influence of similar ideas, Sir Walter Scott described the architecture of the Keep of Conisborough as Saxon.

may sometimes be mistaken for ancient, especially when it is at a distance from the eye. If therefore those who have access to sources of information which have been closed to me should discover, as is only too probable, some mistakes in the following pages, I shall be only too thankful if they will indicate them to me.*

There is a further element of uncertainty in endeavouring to ascertain the dates of the different architectural portions of country churches. This is that *style* is not an invariable evidence of *date*. Even in cathedrals older styles of architecture were used in some cases after the newer forms had been fully introduced; much more must this have been the case in country churches, and especially in the northern parts of the kingdom. It must be understood therefore that though in the following pages I am often obliged to use the terms "date" and "period," it is the succession of types which is to be understood rather than any fixed point of time.

I have already alluded to the evidences of Norman building activity which still remain in the churches of this neighbourhood. Out of the 61 country churches which are here described, 48 contain Norman or Transition-Norman portions, 28 Early English, 48 Decorated, and 52

* The churchwardens' accounts will occasionally furnish valuable information about alterations made in the Perpendicular and succeeding periods. I have only been able to consult those of Ecclesfield, which have been published by Mr. A. Gatty. I greatly regret that I have been unable to consult the register of Archbishop Melton, which is preserved at York, and which doubtless contains many valuable details relating to Yorkshire country churches. It is a disgrace to Yorkshire that this register has not long ago been printed.

Perpendicular. The comparative paucity of Early English work is remarkable. The church building activity of the Decorated period was due to the religious revival brought about by the Friars, and the increased wealth of the middle classes in the 14th century. The Perpendicular period left its mark in the addition of towers to more than half the churches in this district, as well as in the raising of the clerestory walls. Spires will be found to be very much more common in the Derbyshire than in the Yorkshire part of the district. Cruciform churches are rare; out of the 61 ancient churches, only 9 are or have been of that form.

This district is by no means one of the most distinguished as regards the beauty of its parish churches. It cannot boast of glories like those of Holderness, Northamptonshire, or the Fen district. It may be taken simply as an average exhibition of English country churches, but viewed in that light, it shews how much interest, beauty, and instruction a seeking eye may find in any tract of English country which is made the subject of careful investigation.

ADWICK-ON-DEARNE. Dedication unknown. This humble little church is of great interest from its antiquity, which may very well go back to the 11th century. As the walls are covered with pebble-dash, the masonry cannot be seen, but they are probably the original Norman walls, and have only suffered the insertion of some later windows. The porch appears to be Norman, though it is much deeper than Norman porches are generally supposed to be.

just as the chancel is much longer in proportion to the nave than is generally said to be the case with Norman chancels. The three Norman windows however, two on the S. and one on the N. side of the chancel, sufficiently vindicate its Norman origin. The S. door is curious, and looks as though the original doorway had sunk, and had received an addition! The chancel arch is extraordinarily small and narrow, more like a door than a chancel arch, and is of the severest and most antique Norman style. The piscina in the chancel has an elliptical head. There is a plain Norman font. The E. window and roof are restorations; there is one Dec. window in the church, the others are probably insertions of this or the last century. Hunter's language would almost lead one to think that the windows were all lancets when he visited the church.*

ADWICK-LE-STREET; St. Lawrence. The name *le-Street* marks the proximity of Adwick to the Roman road from Doncaster to Castleford, the Ermyne Street. The church was given to the nuns of Hampole by Albreda, lady of Sprotborough. It has remains of Norman work which look earlier than Albreda's time. The S. doorway is early Norman, with rude cushion capitals. The S. wall of the chancel is evidently Norman, as it contains traces of two former Norman windows and a door with a segmental arch; it also preserves the very interesting Norman sedilia, (with two seats only) and a square-headed piscina. The E. wall of the chancel presents some good examples of E. E. buttresses, both the long and the short kind; the round window in the gable is probably E. E., as it exactly

* "Deanery of Doncaster," I.

matches the one in the N. chantry, which is an interesting piece of E. E. work, preserving several of its lancet windows. The E. window of the chancel is modern, but the square window on the S. wall with double shoulder-headed lights appears to be an E. E. insertion, though



97.—THE WASHINGTON TOMB AT ADWICK-LE-STREET

much restored. There is a small arch inserted in the tower wall, which may very possibly belong to the piscina of the N. chantry. The roof of the chancel is ancient, and might be Dec. In Perp. times the tower was added, the N. aisle thrown out, and the chancel arch built; a botchy half arch, worthy of Perp. work, joins it to the chantry wall. The nave roof is a Perp. tie-beam roof. The S. wall of the nave has been rebuilt recently and the porch added; the windows are all modern, while those in the N. wall are Perp. Under the tower is a stone with an in-cut cross fleury, and there are three altar tombs in the chantry to the Washington family; the oldest, dated 1579, is to "Dominus Jacobus Washington, armiger, de Adwycke," and has rude intaglios of the knight, his wife, and 12 children. On his breast he bears a shield with the stars and stripes, which are also figured on the shields round the tomb, and on the two other tombs.* The church registers are very curious, commencing in 1547.

ANSTON; St. James. A spacious and lofty church, chiefly of the Dec. period. There has been an older church however, for the massive pillars of the N. aisle are E. E., and early at that. There was evidently a great rebuilding of the church in the Dec. period, to which the buttresses on both sides belong, and there is also a founder's tomb on each side of the nave, with Dec. mouldings. The pillars of the S. aisle are grouped, of four shafts with very broad fillets; the abaci have the scroll-moulding. The pillars appear to have been recently scraped and restored. In the same aisle is an elegant

* See Appendix, Note Z.



FIG. 98.—EFFIGY AT ANSTON.

From Bloxam's Paper on "South Yorkshire Effigies."

Dec. piscina and awmry. There has been a great deal of modern restoration in the church, and the chancel arch and chancel are modern, and so are all the windows in the body of the church, except one in the S. wall of the chancel, of Decorated pattern. The clerestory I should judge to be ancient, and Dec.; its external corbels are of great interest, and in good preservation, owing to the excellent stone of which the church is built. One of them is probably intended for a Jew. The sedilia are ancient, and probably Decorated. Under the arch of the founder's tomb in the N. aisle has been placed an effigy which does not belong to it, and which for a long time was exposed to decay in

the churchyard. Though it is well that it is now protected from the weather, it is not well that it is in a position which renders it liable to injury. It is a most interesting effigy of a man in the civil costume of the 14th century, with the long curled hair of that period, the tunic with tight sleeves buttoned to the wrists, the super-tunic with long hanging sleeves, the full skirt, and the hood thrown back at the neck.* By the side is a smaller figure which Bloxam considered to be a child; but I imagine that it is intended to represent the man's soul, which an angel is receiving from above, and another angel bearing up from below. This effigy is quite one of the curiosities of the district, and ought to be carefully preserved. The tower with its graceful spire belongs to the early Perp. period.†

Aston; All Saints. This church looks almost entirely Perp. from the outside; the inside tells a different story. The arcades of the nave are late Norman in character, with Transitional features. The round arches of both aisles, and the Attic bases of the N. aisle belong to the Norman style; the Transitional features are the filleted hood-moulding to the arches on both sides, the pointed chamfer of these arches, the alternate round and octagonal pillars, and the single pointed arch in the S. arcade, which rests on a corbel of E. E. character. The responds at the

* See Bloxam, Paper read before the Yorkshire Architectural Society in 1849. Hunter mistook this effigy for a lady.

† Father Haigh says: "I think the tower and spire of this church, though on a much smaller scale, are of the same date, and perhaps designed by the same hand, as that of Laughton." "*Archæological Journal*," I, 403.

W. end have both square abaci. The chancel arch may be pronounced E.E. of very early character. The windows of the aisles (N. and S.) are all modern restorations, but on the same pattern as a very pretty original Perp. window in the porch. At the E. end of the S. aisle, where there has been a chantry, and where an interesting Dec. piscina remains, there is a very good Dec. window containing a good deal of ancient heraldic glass, part being the arms of Darcy.* This chantry has a blocked up squint into the chancel. The chancel, which is of limestone, whereas the rest of the church is of red sandstone, is apparently Transition Dec., but it has been much restored in modern times, so that its features are not trustworthy; the E. window is quite modern. It retains however a great deal of ancient carving on the window corbels, which suggests the same hand as that whose work is to be seen at South Kirkby, Laughton, and Anston; this artist delighted in demons and monsters. The heads on the porch are doubtless intended for those of Edward III and his queen; precisely similar heads may be seen at Laughton. Some carving of the same kind may be seen on the font. The chancel contains a monument in compartments, with effigies of Lord Darcy and his three wives, date 1628. The tower is early Perp., and so is its internal arch. The ancient altar stone is preserved in the vestry.

BAKEWELL; All Saints. Bakewell was an important place in Anglo-Saxon times, being one of the sites fortified by Ethelfleda, the Lady of Mercia, sister of Edward the Elder, in her great campaign against the Danes. It is

* Bloom, "Heraldry of the West Riding," part III.

therefore not surprising that Domesday records a church and *two* priests (an unusual distinction) as located here at the time of the Survey. The present church is cruceiform, and contains some Norman piers at the W. end of the nave, which may be as old as the time of William Peverel, who was the greatest landowner in Derbyshire after the Norman settlement.* These piers and their responds are square and absolutely plain, except for a chamfered impost which has a sort of rude decoration in the form of plain corbels. The Western doorway, and some fragments of arcading which still decorate the W. front, appear to belong to a later stage of Norman, perhaps Stephen's reign. Two small Norman windows, with shafts and capitals, may still be seen on this front. There was a rebuilding of the church in E. E. times, and the chancel probably belongs to this epoch; the masonry is rude, the windows are of the late E. E. type, and the sedilia have unmistakable E. E. bases. The N. and S. doorways also are E. E. The tower and spire were completely rebuilt in 1841, but the old and very elegant design, an octagon fitted on to a square, is said to have been followed.† At a later period the whole of the Norman nave, except the fragments mentioned above, was destroyed, and the S. transept and Vernon chapel rebuilt. The present beautiful doorway of the S. transept is stated to be "almost an exact reproduction" of the old one, but the engraving of the ancient doorway given in the fourth volume of the Journal of the Archæological Association suggests a very

* See page 102.

† Cox's "Notes on Derbyshire Churches," Bakewell.

much simpler doorway than the present one. The S. transept windows are said to be copies of 13th century lancets, while in the restored Vernon chapel, which forms the E. aisle of this transept, the windows follow their Dec. predecessors.

There is a very good ancient screen to the Vernon chapel. The monuments in this chapel are one of the sights of Derbyshire. They are not indeed of any artistic merit, but their staring realism, and the elaborateness of their details, command attention. The most interesting of them are (1) in the middle of the chapel the effigies of Sir George Vernon (who was known as "the king of the Peak") and his two wives; he died 1561; (2) on the S. wall, the effigies of Sir John Manners, (died 1611) his wife Dorothy Vernon,† and four children; (3) on the N. wall, the effigies of their son, Sir George Manners, his wife, and family, including an infant in swaddling clothes. Besides some other less striking memorials of the Vernon and Manners families, there are two much older monuments in this chapel, which did not originally belong to it. One is that of Sir Thomas Wendesley, an effigy on a (new) table tomb, dressed in armour of the *camail* period. He was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury, in 1403. The other is an incised slab, of the 14th century, now placed upright against the S. wall. On one of the piers of the S. aisle of the nave is a beautiful little monument of the Transition-Decorated period, with half length figures of Sir Godfrey

† This is the celebrated Dorothy Vernon. Some beautiful auburn hair, with the pins which fastened it, was found in her coffin when the chapel was rebuilt in 1841. She died in 1584.

Foljambe (+ 1377) and his second wife Avena. The inscription is modern. This Sir Godfrey founded the chantry of the Holy Cross, in 1344, at the E. end of the S. aisle.

The porch of this church is a perfect museum of early tombstones and fragments of sculpture, many of them of Anglo-Saxon date. Bishop Browne believes that some of these fragments are parts of ornamental bands with which the church was decorated in Anglo-Saxon times.* Such bands of ornamentation are found in the Saxon church of Britford in Wiltshire, and it is highly probable that the Anglo-Saxons used their remarkable mastery of decorative art far more extensively in the ornamentation of their churches than the scanty remains which now exist would allow us to assert.†

BARLBOROUGH ; St. James. This church, when I visited it, was a striking instance of a ruthless attempt to transform an ancient church into the admired hideousness of the 18th century ; but I was informed that a restoration was intended. The whole S. wall was rebuilt in the 18th century, and the windows modernized. The Norman pillars of the N. aisle (the only aisle) have been so covered with plaster and whitewash that their details are completely disguised, but the responds against the wall show the original style of the capitals. The chancel arch is E. E. and rests on remarkably beautiful carved corbels. There is a lancet window in the tower, which appears to

* "The Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones of Derbyshire," p. 18.

† For the earthworks at Bakewell, see p. 56.

have been inserted in the middle of a much larger pointed window, now blocked up. From the arms on the W. front of the tower, Canon Cox conjectures that the original tower was built in the 13th century, but the other details are of Perpendicular character. The chancel, and the windows of the N. aisle, are also Perp. At the E. end of the N. aisle is a female effigy, said to be Joan, wife of Sir Thos. Nevill, and heiress of the Furnivals, brought here from Worksop Priory. (See Cox, "Notes on Derbyshire Churches," I, 57). There is also close to it the upper part of the ancient font; it contains a holy water stoup.

BARLOW; St. Lawrence. The most remarkable point about this little Norman church is that it anciently belonged to the most primitive type of church in England and Ireland, having no chancel. The present chancel is entirely modern, and when it was added, five small round-headed windows were found buried in the former E. wall of the church. A Norman piscina was also found, and is now preserved in the E. wall of the vestry; it is of unusual form, being simply a projecting basin. The church has a Norman S. door, and seems to have had Norman windows in the N. wall, but they have all been modernized. On the S. side of the nave there is an E. E. double lancet window, and in the chantry chapel which is built out of the same wall there are two very nice Dec. windows. In this chantry is an alabaster slab, with incised figures of Robert and Margaret Barley, 1477; the man is in armour of the Yorkist fashion, but not so exaggerated in its details as usual; the lady wears the *surcote ouverte* and the mitre head-dress. This tomb was formerly in the N. E. corner

of the church. Against the E. wall of the nave has been placed a 13th century slab with a foliated cross, and a Norman-French inscription in Langobardic letters to Julia Fraunceis. There are two similar slabs in the middle of the nave.* The bell-turret is probably of the last century.

BARNBOROUGH; St. Peter. This fine church is chiefly Decorated and Perpendicular in its details, but is not without traces of an older structure; the two lower storeys of the tower are plainly Norman, and show a blocked up Norman window on the S. side. The tower arch, chancel arch, S. doorway and porch and the two upper storeys of the tower with its short spire,* are Dec., and as the buttresses are of the same style we may infer that the walls of both nave and chancel belong to that epoch; but the church evidently underwent a complete over-hauling in the Perp. period, when the usual raising of the nave pillars and addition of a clerestory probably took place. In the N. aisle, the pillars rest on Transition Norman bases, which have been raised on high plinths, while the capitals are almost certainly Perp. To what epoch the octagonal shafts belong, who shall say? There appear to be traces of some older piers under the chancel arch. The windows of the nave are all Perp. except one Dec. window in the S. aisle; the E. window of that aisle is good early Perp., and contains some ancient stained glass. The chancel windows are all modern. The font is probably a relic of the Transition Norman period. The

* See Cox, "Notes on Derbyshire Churches."

* The church was restored in 1859, and some portions of the belfry are modern. There was a restoration of the nave in 1869.

two chantries, one in the N. chancel,* the other at the end of the S. aisle, evidently retain their original Perp. parclooses, as well as their piscinæ. In the floor of the N. chantry is the tomb slab of Alice Cresacre (+ 1450), incised with nine strings of beads (a Cresacre emblem) so arranged as to form a cross, and with the inscription, not uncommon on monuments of that time,

“ Our bonys in stonys lye full still ;
Our saulys in wandyr at Godys will.”

Close to this tomb of Alice Cresacre is the much more pretentious canopied altar tomb of her husband Percival Cresacre (circa 1455), with an elaborate inscription, given in full by Hunter.† About this Cresacre there is the singular legend that he was killed in fighting with a wild cat, in the church porch. Hunter did not detect what Bloxam, who visited the church in 1849, saw at once, that the oaken effigy on this monument is at least a century older than Cresacre's time, and that part of the bassinet and half of the lion at the feet have been sawn off to fit it into its present position. Probably the frugal Cresacres bought it second-hand, or appropriated some one else's effigy, as others have done both before and since their time. The effigy is an excellent specimen of the *cyclas* period of military costume, of the early part of the 14th century, when mixed armour, partly of plate and partly of

* Founded in 1507. Chantry Certificates, 194.

† “South Yorkshire,” I, 372. This tomb was white-washed at some time in the debased ages, and the scraping off of this white-wash has produced its present very modern appearance. The epitaph is an interesting illustration of the religious sentiments of the middle ages, at their best.



FIG. 99.—EFFIGY AT BARNBOROUGH.

From Bloxam's Paper on "South Yorkshire Effigies."

mail, was worn. In Bloxam's time the details were made clear by paint, the *camail* being painted "in imitation of rings set edge-wise."* All traces of paint are gone now, and the figure has evidently undergone some modern varnishing. The arms of Cresacre are to be seen on the S. side of the tower, and on the E. side were once the arms of Bella Aequa or Bellew, the two great families of the neighbourhood in the time of Edward II.† The heiress of the Cresacres, in the 16th century, married a son of Sir Thomas More, and thus brought the Barnborough estates into the More family. The house of the Mores (Barnborough Hall) is still in existence;

* Bloxam, Paper read before the Yorkshire Architectural Society in 1849.

† Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," I, 379.

it contains a secret chamber, probably built to conceal recusant priests in Elizabeth's reign. Hunter mentions three pictures of the More family which it contained, but I am informed that these have disappeared from Barnborough. For the very interesting cross in the churchyard see page 201.

BARNSLEY; St. Mary. The tower, which is of the early part of the 15th century, is the only ancient portion of this church, which was rebuilt in 1820.

BASLOW; St. Anne. This church has been much restored, and its origins somewhat disguised, but it is probably in the main E. E. The arcades of the two aisles are E. E.; the bases have been restored. The tower with its broach spire is in a peculiar position, at the W. end of the N. aisle; it also is E. E., but its masonry is much less rude than that of the nave and suggests a later period of E. E. Its base-tablets have probably been added at some still later restoration. There has been a restoration of the church in Decorated times, and the E. window, (which is geometrical) belongs to this period; so do the windows of the N. aisle, and the E. and W. windows of the S. aisle. The chancel has been much restored in modern times; the chancel arch is entirely modern, so is the W. window of the nave. The porch, the battlements, the square-headed window in the S. aisle,* the clerestory windows, and the roof of the nave are Perp. The bell-cote for the Sanctus bell remains. A 13th century coffin lid is built into the wall of the porch. The dog-whip, which was used

* This window has had its mullions restored, but on the old pattern.

in ancient times to whip dogs out of church, is preserved in the vestry.

BEIGHTON; St. Mary. Perhaps the most ancient thing in this church is the shoulder-arched awmry in the N. wall of the chancel, which suggests the E.E. period. The piscina is more like the Dec. style. This church has been very extensively restored, and the present Norman chancel-arch copies the mouldings of an ancient one, which was found buried under a pointed arch.* The walls of the chancel and S. aisle were taken down to the foundations in the recent restorations. The new windows of the S. aisle are exact copies of the old ones; in the chancel the old Dec. windows were replaced. The capitals of the aisles look like Perp., but as the arches have the Dec. wave moulding, we may give them the benefit of the doubt, especially as the windows of the church are mostly Dec. The tower-arch is very manifestly Perp.,† and is bold and lofty, of 5 orders, with an odd kind of strung-bobbin decoration. There has been a chantry in the S. aisle. There is a large squint, and the rood-loft doorway is particularly plain. The old altar stone was found during the restoration, buried under the vestry; it has been placed in a wooden frame, and is now used for the communion table. The tower is Perp.

BOLSOVER; St. Mary. This church has undergone many alterations; the N. aisle is entirely modern, and copied from the pillars of the S. aisle, which are Dec.

* Cox, "Notes on Derbyshire Churches."

† Here I must venture to differ from Canon Cox.

The chancel arch is a restoration, retaining the Norman capitals to the responds; an interesting late Norman capital, with characteristic carving, has been built into the chancel wall. The tower arch is Transition Norman, and the tower itself is Early English, with a W. doorway of the same style. The tower has a broach spire. The chancel is Dec., and has a fine E. window; the external hood moulding of this window is a very bold curve-and-slant moulding. Over the chancel door, outside, is a sculpture of the crucifixion, the date of which has been much disputed; Canon Cox concludes it is Norman. The S. wall has been entirely rebuilt with stone taken from the old N. wall. In the S. aisle is a founder's tomb of the 14th century, under the canopy of which is now placed the most interesting object in the church, a piece of 13th century sculpture in high relief, representing the Adoration by the Magi. It is probably of the 14th century and may have been once an altar-piece. It was found forming a step, face downwards, to the N. door. At the E. end of the S. aisle there is a chapel belonging to the Cavendish family, who have owned Bolsover Castle from the beginning of the 17th century. It is full of hideous Renaissance monuments, of the most costly description. The roofs of the church and chancel are modern.*

For the castle and earthworks at Bolsover see pp. 104-106.

* Since this was written this church has been ravaged by fire, but I am informed by the courtesy of the vicar that the tower and spire and a great deal of the ancient work, including the mediæval sculpture, have been saved.

BOLTON-ON-DEARNE; St. Andrew. The nave of this church appears to preserve its ancient walls, and the similarity of the rude masonry on both sides would lead one to think that the aisle on the N. side is part of the original plan of the church. Its arcade is Transition Norman, with round columns. The chancel is Dec. and has a good reticulated E. window, which appears to be original, though restored. The other windows of the church are chiefly modern. The tower is Perp. Small as this church is, it had three chantries in the olden time, and the dates of their founding are preserved: on the N. side of the church (*i.e.* the chancel) 1328; on the S. side, 1400; in the nave, 1398. These chantries were all dedicated to Our Lady.*

BRADFIELD; St. Nicholas. This church was a dependency of Ecclesfield, and there was probably a chapel here in Norman times. To the N. of the present chancel arch, on the E. wall of the nave, is something which looks uncommonly like remains of an early Norman pier with a plain chamfered impost; it may have formed the N. jamb of the Norman chancel arch. The present chancel arch is Transition Norman; though the caps of the responds have been mutilated, it can be seen that the abaci were square. Before the recent restoration there were galleries in the church, to accommodate which the caps of all the pillars in the aisles have been barbarously mutilated. But I venture to conjecture that the two round pillars in the N. aisle, which have Norman bases (if these bases are original) belonged to the early Norman church. The

* Chantry Certificates.

other pillars have bases of E. E. character, and the one respond which remains unmutilated at the E. end of the S. aisle has a capital of the same character. The arches also have the E. E. hexagonal hood-mould. At a later period, both aisles were raised on their present high plinths, and at the same time the clerestory and the tower were added, and probably the church lengthened, as the responds on the W. wall are Perp. in character. The Perp. date of the tower is almost proved by the fact that there is no mark on its E. side of the steep roof of the earlier church. The tower windows have all the deep Perp. cavetto, and the masonry is of the same character all the way up. The chancel arcades are of later Perp., but the S. aisle, where there has doubtless been a chantry, retains a good Dec. window at the E. end, with a corbel head of a lady in head-gear of the middle of the 14th century. The other windows are all Perp., those of the S. aisle fine and lofty, but those of the N. poor and small, and square-headed; this is accounted for by the fact that before the last restoration the level of the soil was very high on this side the church. There is a singular crypt in the N. aisle of the chancel, which is supposed to have been the priest's lodging at the time when Bradfield was served by the monks of Ecclesfield. It is remarkable that there are 8 steps up to the chancel of this church. The ancient Norman font was discovered in 1870, when the church was admirably restored by the Rev. Reginald Gatty, then the Vicar, and cleared of the galleries which had encumbered it. The old glass found in the church has been collected and placed in a window in the N. aisle.

The roofs are of good Perp., and bear the Talbot device. The porch is remarkably lofty.*

This interesting moorland church stands in a glorious situation, and there are other attractions at Bradfield which might give an antiquarian a very full day. For the very remarkable earthworks see p. 56, for the ancient cross preserved in the church, p. 198.

BRAITHWELL; St. James; anciently All Hallows. This has originally been a cruciform church, and the Transition-Norman arches and responds which sustained a tower over the crossing still remain. It is now an oblong church, with a S. aisle only; the pillars of this aisle are Dec. There is a Norman S. doorway, with some rude carving in the tympanum. There are two very pretty square-headed Dec. windows to the S. aisle. The chancel was rebuilt in 1845, but contains a very beautiful founder's tomb of the Dec. period, with an incised cross fleury to Thomas Sheffield + 1369. For the cross at Braithwell see p. 201.

BRAMPTON; St. Peter and St. Paul. This is one of the most interesting churches in the whole district, as here we have an E. E. nave complete, with the exception of its windows, of which only one remains, at the W. end of the S. aisle.† Moreover the date of consecration of this

* There is a paper on Bradfield church by the Rev. W. Stacey in Dr. Gatty's edition of Hunter's "Hallamshire," and the Rev. Reginald Gatty has added a chapter on Bradfield to Dr. Gatty's "Life at One Living."

† Only the lower part of this window is original. Cox, "Notes of Derbyshire Churches," I. 110.

church has been preserved, 1253. The chancel arch, tower arch, and the pillars of both aisles are all E. E. The pillars show the E. E. love of variety in the alternation of round and grouped columns. The S. doorway may possibly have belonged to an earlier church, as there was a church here in the days of William II, or it may be merely one of those survivals of style which are occasionally met with. The tower is also E. E., though the double-cusped windows of the broach spire probably shew the spire to be later. Base tablets of a later epoch have been added to the tower, which has distinctly E. E. buttresses. Two of these buttresses are within the nave. One of the most remarkable features of this church is the quantity of E. E. sculpture which adorns the outside. The figures of St. Peter and St. Paul are conspicuous on the S. wall of the nave, and on the E. wall is a Virgin and Child, and a seated figure of Our Saviour. The figure of St. Christopher over the S. doorway is modern. Inside the church is a remarkable monument of the *semi-effigial* character described on p. 178, once in the churchyard, now fixed to the inner wall of the tower. The head is that of a lady in a simple veil head-dress, not without grace.* A well cut Langobardic inscription reads "*Hic jacet Matilda le Caus, orate pro anima ej' pat' nost'.*" There was a Matilda, heiress of the barony of Le Cauz, who died in the year 1224, and this may very probably be the lady. There is an E. E. piscina, trefoil-headed, in the former N. E. chantry of this nave.† There does not appear to have

* The cushion on which the lady's head rests has often been mistaken for part of her head-dress.

† Probably founded in 1264. Cox, lb. 117.

been any important addition to this church in the Dec. period except possibly the porch, which is stone-vaulted, with a crocketed hood-moulding. The pulpit however has every sign of having originally been of Dec. work. It was erected in 1815, but tradition says that it was formed out of portions of the ancient rood-screen, and there is every probability that this is the case. The design would certainly point to the 14th century rather than the 19th.* The chancel, which has been much restored, is evidently of the Perp. time. All the windows of the nave are of that style, except the lancet above mentioned, but Canon Cox states that the tracery was supplied recently to the clerestory and S. aisle windows. The Sanctus bell-cote still exists on the roof, and the bell has been replaced in it.†

BRODSWORTH; St. Michael.‡ The S. aisle of this church is modern, but on the N. side of the chancel arch there are the remains of an early Norman pier with a plain chamfered impost, which is sufficient indication that a church existed there in Norman times, and the mass of masonry attached to one of the piers of the N. aisle may

* I am indebted for this information to Miss Helen Shipton, the designer of the figure of St. Christopher in the porch.

† Through the kindness of the Rector of Brampton I am informed that the tombstone in the churchyard described by Canon Cox, which I unfortunately failed to see on my visit to the church, is really the shaft of an ancient cross, and that a portion which seems to belong to it is worked into the inside wall of the belfry. From the description it appears to be decorated with a knot-work pattern.

‡ A delightful drive through well timbered agricultural country, free from the taint of collieries, may be taken from Doncaster, to visit the churches of Brodsworth, Marr, and Sprothorough.

have belonged to it; so may the little Norman window in the N. wall. The Transition-Norman pillars of the N. aisle are probably a hundred years later, and so is the tower arch, which is so rude and plain that only its point indicates its later date. The tower, in its two lower storeys, might be called E.E., if its buttresses are taken as evidence. The chancel is evidently E.E. and of a later period than the tower, as is shown by the moulding which encloses the three lancet windows under one arch outside. Inside the window shafts appear to be a restoration. There is one Norman window in the chancel, shewing that we still have the Norman walls on the N. side. The chancel arch is in E.E. style. The font is of Norman form, octagonal and rude. The masonry of this church is extremely rude, and there is a unique piece of decoration on the eaves of the N.W. portion of the roof of the nave. In the modern porch are preserved some portions of early grave-stones, one of which, an elaborate cross fleury, with a sword entwined by a serpent, is carved in high relief, in good 13th century style. There was a church at Brodsworth at the time of the Domesday Survey.

CASTLETON; St. Edmund; a particularly interesting dedication, as it seems to point to the existence of a church here in Saxon times; for we can scarcely suppose the proud Peverel of the Castle would dedicate a church to an Anglo-Saxon saint. The church has been wrecked more than once by the clergy and churchwardens, yet the immense thickness of the walls, and the fact that there are the remains of a piscina in the nave seem to show that the walls are at least in part original. The chancel

also appears to be of old masonry. The chancel arch is Norman, of unusual width, and almost segmental; it is decorated with a very heavy chevron moulding, and has square piers with a single round pilaster at the front angle.* The roof is adorned with the Tudor rose and portcullis, and an inscription on the leads, stating that "the old roof was laid on A.D. 1633" probably refers to the time when this more ancient ceiling was provided with the classical props which now uphold it. The tower is Perp.; the font ancient and rude. There is some nice 17th century carving to some of the old pews. In the vestry is a library left to the parish by a former vicar, and containing a copy of the "Breeches Bible" and one of Cranmer's Bible of 1539. For the Peak Castle see p. 101.

CHESTERFIELD; All Saints. This very fine cruciform church belongs in the main to the Decorated period, but there are some remnants of older work. There was a church here in the time of William Rufus, who gave it to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. There are no remains of this Norman church, which was followed by a large E. E. one. Of this E. E. church the fragments which remain are the arches, pillars, and responds which separate the N. and S. transepts from their eastern aisles (now chapels); they all have characteristic E. E. details; the arches have an E. E. hexagonal hood mould. "These traces of E. E. work in the two transepts," says Canon Cox, "are sufficient to tell us that a large cruciform church was erected here in the 13th century, in the place

* This arch was rebuilt in 1827. Glover's "History of Derbyshire," II, 129.

of the Norman church of William Rufus that previously existed."* He also calls attention to the corbel-table which supports the exterior cornice of the wall on the S. side of the Foljambe chapel, as a further evidence of the great size of the E.E. church. This E.E. church must have been quickly superseded by a Dec. one, but the Dec. work in the chancel is obviously earlier than that in the nave, except where Perp. alterations come in. To these Perp. alterations I think the columns of the chancel aisles must belong, as they have the characteristic Perp. ogee in their capitals. The Dec. tracery of the large E. window is modern.

The chancel has four chapels: (1) on the S. side, the Foljambe chapel; it has two Dec. windows in its S. wall; the E. window is Perp.; this chapel is the only part of the church where anything is left of the old roof; (2) the Calton chapel, a small chapel to the S. of the Foljambe, extremely interesting because it retains its polygonal apse, the only one to be seen in our district;† it also is in the Dec. style, and has Dec. windows and piscina; (3 and 4) two chapels on the N. side, the northernmost of which (Holy Cross chapel) contains a very beautiful flamboyant window, lately restored. An exquisite modern reredos has lately been placed here. The other chapel still contains the window of the former chancel wall, now unglazed. When the lowness of this window is considered, it will be

* "Notes on Derbyshire Churches," I, 124. I am at variance with Canon Cox in thinking that all these pillars are E.E.

† The only other instance of an ancient apse in this district is the round one at Steetley.

seen that it is not improbable that the present chancel piers were added in the Perp. period, when the roof of the chancel was raised.

The S. transept is called St. Catherine's chapel; its S. doorway and large S. window are modern, but the doorway is copied from its E. E. predecessor. The N. transept has suffered a great deal of restoration in the Georgian era, as may be seen by the pediment outside. Fortunately the Georgians did not succeed in "beautifying" the entire church. The arches of the crossing under the tower are fine specimens of Dec. work. The rest of the church, that is the nave, tower, and spire, belong to the late Dec. period, and might even be called Transition Dec., as at this time the Dec. architecture was beginning to pass into the Perp. The broad fillets on the grouped pillars; the beadings added to the main shafts, and to the mouldings of the arches; the delicate beadings of the window mouldings, without bases, and the small capitalled shafts with high bases, amidst them, are all signs of the Transition. The manner in which the aisles are joined to the transepts with a half arch is exceedingly clumsy, and unworthy the best period of Dec. The great W. window tracery is modern; the W. windows of the aisles have Perp. tracery, but their mouldings are the same as those of the other nave windows, of which the tracery is decidedly Dec. The chancel arch is remarkably narrow for the size of the church, but it is lofty, and the vista into the chancel good, especially as the galleries are well to the back of the pillars of the nave. The three doorways to the nave are all of the late Dec. type; the W. one has been restored.

The clerestory windows are Perp. and there are other Perp. windows in different parts of the church. From a fine Dec. tower rises the famous twisted spire which is the curiosity of Chesterfield. It is of timber, covered with lead. Much has been written and disputed as to whether the strange bent of this spire was intentional or accidental. Canon Cox decides that it was accidental, caused by the pressure of the lead and the warping action of the sun on unseasoned timber. "A close examination of the beams proves that they are unmistakeably warped." The oak roof is modern.

There are many interesting details to notice in this church, and the monuments are of great importance. There is a piscina-niche, with good open carving, in the chancel, and another in the N. chapel; another in the Calton chapel. The old Perp. screen in the N. transept was formerly part of the chancel screen; it bears the symbols of the Passion. Another more elaborate screen of late Perp. work, with a coved projecting cornice, is in the S. transept. The reredos at the back of the altar was formerly the screen of the Foljambe chapel; it is a very beautiful piece of carving, of the beginning of the 16th century. The tombs in the Foljambe chapel are (1) to Henry Foljambe, 1509, a fine altar tomb on the N. side, having a slab of dark marble, formerly inlaid with brasses; the sides are carved with rows of knights and ladies, shewing the Early Tudor costume. (2) Next to it, on the floor, a slab with brasses of a knight and lady, Sir Godfrey Foljambe, son of the above, and his wife Katharine, 1541. (3) On the E. wall, a barbarous mural monument to Sir

James Foljambe, 1558, with his two wives and thirteen children; erected by his grandson. (4) The central mural monument, and altar tomb below it; very good alabaster effigies of Sir James' son, Sir Godfrey, and his wife, Troth Terwhitt, 1585. (5) Altar tomb and mural monument against the S. wall to Godfrey Foljambe, only son of the above, in plate armour, and his wife, 1592, very good effigies. (6) On the floor, a large alabaster slab on which is engraved a man in armour; an inscription once shewed it to be to George Foljambe of Brimington, 1588. (7) The kneeling figure of a knight in armour, now placed on Henry Foljambe's altar tomb, with which it has no connection; supposed to be Sir Thomas Foljambe, 1604.* The *tapul* or projecting ridge on the corslet and the *lamboys* on the thighs are conspicuous on this figure. A stone in the Calton chapel has once had a fine brass figure of an ecclesiastic. In the S. wall of the nave is a recess containing the effigy of a priest, with hair and costume of the 15th century; it does not fit the recess, which is Dec., and has evidently been put in at a later period. The Jacobean pulpit is a very fine specimen of the carving of that time.

There are records of three chantries in Chesterfield church, besides several side altars.† The chapel with the Foljambe tombs was the Lady chapel. Holy Cross chapel was built by the Guild of Our Blessed Lady and the

* In the upper tracery of the S. window of the Foljambe chapel is some old glass with the arms of Plantagenet, and the arms of Wake inverted above them. Cox.

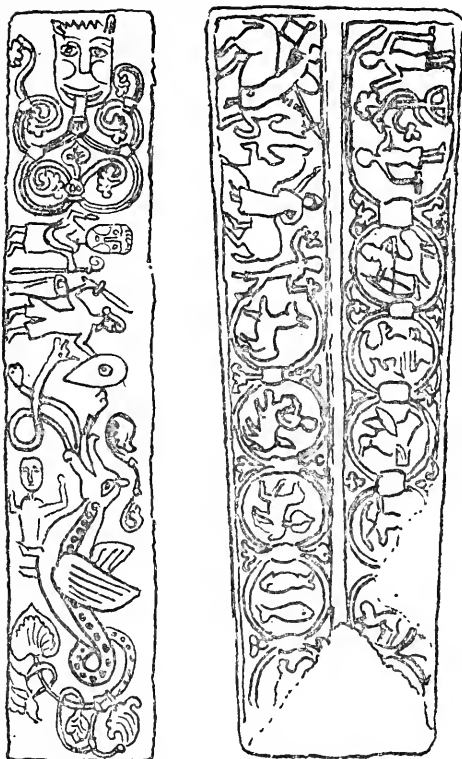
† Cox, "Notes on Derbyshire Churches, I, 161-167.

Holy Cross; this guild dated from 1218, but the royal license to found the chantry was issued in 1393. There was also the chantry of St. Michael, founded in 1357, which contained an altar to St. Mary Magdalene as well as to the patron saint. There was also the chapel of St. George. One of these must have been the Calton chapel, and the other the chapel between Holy Cross chapel and the chancel.

CLOWN (St. John the Baptist; anciently All Saints) has a Norman S. doorway, and a remarkably rude Norman chancel arch. The S. wall is modern, but the N. wall is believed to be the old Norman wall, and is of very rude masonry. The chancel also is ancient, and has an E. E. lancet window, and a Low side window. There are the remains of a Norman piscina, and the rude font is also Norman. The wooden roof of the nave is an ancient one of the king-post type, probably of the Perp. period. The tower is Perp. There is a curious gravestone near the S.E. end of the church, in the churchyard, undoubtedly ancient; it is kite-shaped at each end, and has a strip of rectilinear pattern down the middle.

CONISBOROUGH; St. Peter. This interesting church was originally Norman, and still retains a good deal of its Norman aspect. The columns and arches of the N. aisle are Norman, the capitals being interesting specimens of Norman carving; the arches are round, and square-edged, with the merest suggestion of a soffit rib. The chancel arch is of the same period, and has the lozenge-like decoration on the abacus. The lower part of the tower

may be Norman too, as it has plain Norman arches opening into chapels N. and S., but externally it is completely disguised by Perp. and modern restorations and additions, and its arch into the nave is Perp. There is a piscina in the chancel which has been pronounced by some authorities to be Norman, but there are some dubious signs about it. Norman piscinæ are rare. The round arch at the E. end of the N. aisle is modern, having been put up some years ago, when the wall of that aisle was taken down and rebuilt a few feet further out, the two original Norman windows being carefully re-inserted (the glass of course is modern). There is a piscina of unusual form at the E. end of this aisle, where there was a chantry founded in the 16th century by Nicholas Bosvile, whose tomb, under an arch in the N. wall, is dated, 1521. The S. aisle is Transition-Norman, and has pointed arches, square edged; it is evident from outside that the masonry of this wall is original. There is a fine Norman doorway in this wall, decorated with the chevron and star mouldings; the porch which protects it is E.E. and has suffered much from weathering. At the end of this aisle has been a chantry, the plain square awmry and angular piscina of which remain, and a tomb slab on the floor with black letter inscription. The chancel by its mouldings appears to be Dec., though all its windows and the S. doorway are Perp. The large E. window, though much restored, appears ancient. The windows of the nave are all modern, except the two Norman ones. Some remarkable tombstones, which were formerly in the churchyard, are now preserved in the N. aisle. One is sculptured with birds in very high relief, and is probably of the 13th century.



100.—NORMAN TOMB-SLAB AT CONISBOROUGH.

From "Archæological Journal," Vol. 1.

The other is a very rare Norman monument; it is a hog-backed stone, sculptured on the top and on one side only. It represents, on the side, an encounter between a hero and a monster, who apparently holds a lady between his paws; a bishop stands by the side of the champion. The two slopes of the top are decorated with a battle

between two Knights, the Temptation of Adam and Eve, and a number of medallions involved in scroll-work, which are evidently the signs of the zodiac. The kite-shaped shields, and conical caps of the figures on this remarkable piece of sculpture, prove it to be of Norman date;* but it is worthy of remark that the legend of St. George, which it appears to represent on its side, has hitherto not been found in its full mediæval form before the Golden Legend of Jacob de Voragine, about 1280.† This stone has sometimes been absurdly called the Tomb of Hengist, and a whole web of nonsense has been woven out of a mythical connection of Hengist with Conisborough Castle. There is also a tomb-slab preserved in the same aisle, with a fine cross fleury, probably of the 13th century. Hunter, who visited this church about 1820, saw there a mutilated effigy of a knight; it has now disappeared, without any help from the Puritans! Hunter also states that the chancel had once a N. aisle, to which a small grated window, still to be seen, gave a view of the altar. There is a well-cut Perp. font. For Conisborough Castle see p. 96.

DARFIELD; All Saints. This fine church has traces of the Norman period in the two lower storeys of its tower, with their little Norman windows on the N. and S. sides, and the massive semicircular responds of the internal tower arch, which rest on Transitional bases. The arch itself however appears too wide for that period, and has probably been opened out at a later time. Probably the

* See paper on the Norman tombstone at Conisborough, by Daniel H. Haigh, in "*Archæological Journal*," 1845.

† See "*Dictionary of Christian Biography*," art. Georgius.

greater part of the present fabric is of the Dec. age, but there has been a good deal of modern restoration as well as Perp. additions. The S. aisle windows for example are all modern; but those of the N. aisle *seem* to be ancient, and are of a late Dec. pattern. There are two mural tombs of Dec. style in the N. wall, one of which has a splendidly cut cross fleury on its slab, with a cup and a book, shewing that it is the tomb of an ecclesiastic. The external buttresses of both nave and chancel, where not restored, bespeak the Dec. period, and the S. porch, and blocked N. doorway, are evidently Dec. The W. doorway in the Norman tower is an insertion of the Dec. period. The chancel arch is also Dec. and has all the characteristic mouldings of that style. The chancel itself has undergone much restoration, and its windows are all modern. There are pillars of Perp. style separating the N. aisle and a former chantry from the chancel. On the S. side there are two piers so massive as to suggest the idea that the church had once a central tower, were it not that the actual tower evidently existed in Norman times. One of these piers contains the ancient stairway to the rood-loft, now used to give access to the (modern) pulpit; the other contains a blocked staircase, said to lead to the roof. On the opposite side is a large squint. In the S. aisle of the chancel is a handsome Dec. arch which may have been either a founder's tomb or an Easter Sepulchre. This aisle evidently formed a chantry, and still has its piscina; it contains a very fine marble tomb with effigies of a knight and lady, in good preservation. The knight is an excellent specimen of the costume of the *Camail* period (see p. 185); he wears the collar of S.S., which dates the

monument to the reign of Henry IV. The lady wears the netted roll head-dress of that period, and a form of the *sarcote ouverte* (see p. 191) which is intermediate between that of the Sprotborough lady and the fully developed form; it is tight fitting, but without the usual trimming which gives it the jacket appearance. As there are now no arms on this monument, Hunter was unable to allot it with certainty, but thought it probable that it was the tomb of John Bosvile and Isabel Dronfield, who lived in Richard II and Henry IV's reign. Perhaps John Bosvile was the author of the Perp. restoration of the church, when the usual process of raising the nave walls and adding the clerestory took place.* The pillars of the nave have capitals with Perp. mouldings, but they stand on bases of the Transition-Norman period. The two upper storeys of the tower are Perp.; the W. window is late Perp. The handsome font is Perp. The king-post roof seems to be of the same period. There are two chained black-letter books of homilies in the church, and a good deal of handsome 17th century carving on the old pews; some has been arranged as panelling round the S. W. angle of the church. A Dec. piscina in the S. wall seems to indicate a third chantry. In the churchyard is the tomb of Ebenezer Elliot; and also an obelisk to 189 men who were killed in the explosion at Lundhill colliery in 1857. There is a tradition that the bells of Darfield church came from Beauchief Abbey, and Hunter thinks it may be true of two of them, which are ancient. What appears to be the Sanctus bell-cote is now re-erected at

* The present clerestory windows appear to be modern.

the W. end of the roof of the S. aisle. There was anciently a chapel on the bridge over the Dearne at Darfield.*

DORE; ancient dedication unknown. The present church replaced the ancient one, "a very ancient and low mean building," in 1828.

DRONFIELD; St. John Baptist. One of the finest churches in the whole district, having a noble E.E. nave, and a splendid Dec. chancel, which must have been built by some one with large ideas. The E.E. nave has two aisles, with round pillars, which no doubt were raised on their present high plinths in the Perp. period. The bases appear to have suffered from re-dressing. The doorway to the rood-loft can be traced. The windows of the S. aisle are E.E. intersecting windows, showing a somewhat late date in that style. They have the curve-and-slant hood-mould, finished with the mask ornament; the same moulding is found on the S. doorway and on the porch, which are probably of the same epoch. The windows of the N. aisle are different in design, and have a single circle in the head; these windows look as though they were later insertions. At the E. end of the S. aisle was a chantry, founded (according to Pegge) in 1349. This is confirmed by its Dec. window. The tower arch is lofty and pointed, and has bases of Norman character, the E.E. hexagonal band, and Dec. capitals; I give it up! It should be noticed that though diagonal buttresses have been added, probably in Dec. times, to the nave, the S.W. angle retains the corner-to-corner buttresses of the E.E.

* Hunter, "South Yorkshire," II, 119.

style. The body of the aisles still has its E.E. buttresses. The chancel arch is of rather late Dec. style, and has evidently been put up when the chancel was added, as the responds of the aisles on the E. wall of the nave are Dec. The chancel to which it leads is much wider than the nave, and soars far higher. In spite of the great misfortune which its E. window has suffered, in the insertion of barbarous tracery of the latest Tudor style,* this is one of the noblest chancels to be seen in any country church. The five side windows are of beautiful design, and the mouldings bold. The three sedilia and the piscina are in the richest style of Dec. To the N. of the chancel is a vestry with an upper chamber, also of the Dec. period, and the clerestory of the nave is of the same style. The tower with its tall and graceful spire (132 feet high) was added in the early Perp. period, and the W. window is a good specimen of early Perp. design. The W. door has interesting mouldings, and the fact that it has the Dec. form of wave-moulding along with the Perp. form of double ogee shows the early epoch of the work. The trefoil windows above the aisles are modern.

There are some interesting monuments in the church. (1) On the floor in the middle of the chancel is a brass to the memory of two priests of the name of Gomfrey, one of them being a former rector of this church, who died in 1380. The horn which is figured on this brass is supposed to indicate that the deceased held lands by cornage tenure, *i.e.* for the service of blowing a horn on the approach of

* The outline of the window is the same as the former one, and the original mouldings remain outside.

an enemy. (2) An alabaster effigy, which has been pushed into one of the squints (there are two squints) supposed, on rather slight evidence, to be that of one Sir Richard Barley. It is a beautiful effigy in armour of the Yorkist period, but without the more extravagant features of that style, the *coudes* and *genouillieres* being comparatively small. The long straight hair marks the late Yorkist period. The effigy lies on an altar tomb sculptured with angels. (3) A stone with eight brass plates, in the N. wall of the chancel, to the Fanshawe family. The Jacobean pulpit has very handsome arabesques. This church was given to the canons of Beauchief in the reign of Edward I.

ECCLESFIELD; St. John Baptist. This fine church, which was known in the time of Dodsworth, 200 years ago, as the "Minster of the Moors," has more the appearance of a church all of one style (and that Perp.) than most of the churches which we have to describe. Yet even it retains traces of a former Norman church, which was given in Henry I's reign to the Benedictine monks of St. Wandrille in Normandy. To the E. and W. of the present internal responds of the tower are some plain square-edged piers, with remains in one case of square chamfered imposts, evidently of the Norman period.* These piers must have supported a Norman tower, and render it probable that the early church was cruciform. The widening of the aisles, which probably took place at the Perpendicular

* See the paper by the Rev. W. Stacey on the architecture of this church, in Dr. Gatty's edition of Hunter's "Hallamshire." See also Dr. Gatty's "Life at One Living."

restoration, and the building of side chapels to the chancel, have almost obliterated the cruciform plan. The Transition Norman responds at the W. end of the aisles shew that this former church was as long as the present one, and had two aisles. The pillars of the aisles are round on the N. side, octangular on the S.; both have Perpendicular capitals and bases, though the capitals of the N. aisle are taller than those of the S. Both stand on very high plinths. The nave in fact appears to have been completely rebuilt in the Perp. period, but though the windows of both aisles are all of the same Perp. pattern, there is considerable difference between the two aisles externally. The S. aisle, which is probably the earlier, has that peculiar kind of flying buttress which pierces a gargoyle figure. These figures, though much weathered, are highly curious, and some of them seem to be intended for Friars, always an object of satire to monks of the older orders, such as those to whom this church belonged. The N. aisle has plain buttresses which look like later Perpendicular. The tower is generally spoken of as Dec., but I do not know why, as its external features are all quite Perp. Internally, it is true, its lofty arches have mouldings which are seldom found except in Dec. (the sunk quarter-round) but the caps, with their chamfered-off abaci, are of Perp. type. But the strongest proof that the tower is Perp. is that it has no water-tabling showing the roof-mark of an older church.

The chancel is of even later Perp. than the nave, "not earlier than the latter part of the reign of Henry VII," says Mr. Stacey. A window in the chancel formerly had

an inscription "Pray for Thomas Ricard, and his convent of the Carthusian house of St. Anne, who caused this chantry and window to be made." It will be noticed that the pillars of the chancel are on precisely the same pattern as those of the S. aisle of the nave, with their mouldings. There were five chantries in the church, and some of the altar-stones are still to be seen in the paving of both nave and chancel, marked with the five crosses; some are used as tomb-stones. The communion-table stands on the former high-altar stone. Rickman praises the woodwork of the stalls and screens. The beautiful screen to the N. chapel is of early Perp. type; the S. or Mounteney chapel has a carved bench dated 1536, and a handsome screen which appears to be of the same date. The rood screen is also a fine piece of Perp. work. The roof of the nave is ancient, but has been much injured and patched; the aisle roofs are ancient, and have good carved bosses. The chancel roof is of the last century, when a flat plaster ceiling was substituted for the ancient wood-work, in accordance with the perverted taste of that time. There is a large alabaster monument to Sir Richard Scott, 1640, with a very fine effigy in the costume of Charles I's time. Several sepulchral slabs of the 13th century were found built into the walls of the church when the S. porch was recently restored, and are now fixed into the internal walls. The font is dated 1662. For the ancient cross now preserved in the church, see p. 198; for the remains of the Priory of St. Wandrille, and the connection of Ecclesfield church with the Carthusians. see p. 134.

ECKINGTON; St. Peter and St. Paul. One of the most interesting churches in the whole district, a fine specimen

of the Norman period. The pillars of the aisles are arranged thus: the two easternmost round, the two westernmost octagonal; the round pillars have round abaci, the octagonal ones have octagonal abaci. The arches are round and square-edged, with the flat soffit rib. The tower arch and chancel arch are Transition-Norman, and so is the tower, which has a Norman W. doorway; but the spire is Dec. On the S. side of the chancel the doorway which led to the rood-loft is still to be seen. There is a remarkably elaborate squint. Three of the clerestory windows are Perp., the other windows in the church, with the exception of two Perp. windows in the N. aisle, are all modern. The church has been frightfully patched in post-reformation times. The very rude masonry of the chancel suggests great age, but the windows are probably insertions of the last century. A good deal of the outer masonry of the church is a modern casing.

EDLINGTON; St. Peter. This little church has been pronounced "a gem of Norman ornamentation, little known and seldom visited."* Its fabric is still largely Norman; the masonry of the walls and that of the two lower stages of the tower are evidently of the same date, and along with the details of the other Norman work point to a late epoch in that style, verging to the Transition. The S. wall is of peculiar interest, as it retains its Norman corbel-table, of curious carving, marking the original height of the Norman walls. A beautiful Norman window, with diapered columns, and chevron decoration to the arch, is

* Paper on Edlington church, by R. Philipps, in *Journal of Archæolog. Association*, Vol. XXX.

preserved in this wall. The S. door is richly adorned with the chevron, beak-head, and other mouldings, used continuously. The chancel arch is also an interesting specimen of Norman work; it is decorated with several rows of chevrons, and has very short responds raised on extremely high plinths, with ornamental capitals. The details of the arcade forming the N. aisle and of the tower arch incline more to the Transition; both have pointed arches, but both display the square abacus. The rood-loft doorway may be seen near the chancel arch. There are two Norman windows, in the N. and S. walls of the tower, with deep splays in the massive walls. The chancel windows are square-headed, of the Decorated style; at that period the S. porch, and a N. doorway were added to the church, and perhaps the walls of the nave raised to their present height; but they seem to show two different periods of raising. The upper storey of the tower, and the tower buttresses belong to the Perp. time. There is a Perp. chantry at the E. end of the aisle, preserving a portion of its original parclose; there is no monument to be seen in it now but a mural tablet of the 17th century, nor could I find any of the inscribed slabs of which Hunter speaks. The E. window of this chantry, which is Dec., and ancient, must have been removed from the former E. end of the N. aisle. The queer little font is dated 1590. The two windows of the N. aisle, the E. window, and the ornamental piscina and credence table, are evidently modern works. For the earthworks in Edlington Woods see pp. 36 and 39.

EXAM; St. Helen. This church is mainly E.E., with a Perp. S. aisle and tower, but it has been much restored,

the N. aisle widened, and the chancel almost rebuilt. The arcade of the N. aisle is E.E.; one pier is round, the other a group of four pointed bowtells. The responds have the square abacus. The tower arch is E.E. (showing that there was formerly an E.E. tower), but is enclosed in a later Perp. arch. Three lancet windows of the E.E. time remain in the church, one at the W. end of the N. aisle (the outer one is modern, inserted when the aisle was widened) and two in the S. wall of the chancel. This wall is ancient, and has a priest's door of the same epoch. The frequent use of the scroll moulding shows that the chancel was built late in the E.E. period. The rest of the chancel, and the chancel arch, are modern. The other windows in the chancel and nave are all modern, but those in the N. aisle are after the Dec. pattern of one of the ancient ones.* The roof of the nave is ancient (Perp.) and evidently does not fit the present clerestory. At the E. end of the N. aisle has been a chantry still known as the Stafford chantry; it contains a good E. E. piscina of unusual form (a projecting basin)† and a fine 13th century gravestone with a foliated cross. The font is Norman in form and may be ancient, though if so it has had a modern scraping. The tower is early Perp., and has a stone with various initials, and the date 1649, probably indicating some churchwarden's repairs. There are two ancient gravestones with crosses enclosed in circles, and swords, outside the priest's door. For the

* Cox, "Notes on Derbyshire Churches."

† As Canon Cox says the piscina of this chantry was removed in the restorations of 1868, I am not sure that the present one is not a modern toy.

Saxon cross, see p. 200. The touching story of the Mompessons, which will ever give a sacred attraction to Eyam, may be read in every guide-book.

GREASBOROUGH; Holy Trinity; ancient church destroyed.

HANDSWORTH; St. Mary. This church, though shewing but a fragment of its former beauty, is a very striking fragment, and especially interesting because of the comparative rarity of E. E. remains in these churches. The nave has a N. aisle, the arcade of which is of unusual loftiness for a parish church. This arcade appears to be E. E., or late Transition-Norman, but the pillars were raised at the time of the Perp. restoration of the church. The tower arch is Transition-Norman, but the tower and spire have been rebuilt. The chancel is E. E., and has three lancet lights at the E. end and three on the S. side. There are two rude E. E. sedilia for the priest and his clerk. There is also an E. E. piscina, and a squint. A very low and wide segmental arch separates the chancel from a N. chapel, also E. E., containing an interesting piscina. This chapel has two Dec. side windows. There was a restoration of the church in 1472, when a visitation presentment records that the church was ruinous, and the roof of the chancel defective. The windows of the S. side of the nave were probably put in at this period; but there was also a modern rebuilding in 1833.*

HARTHILL; All Saints; anciently St. John the Evangelist. The signs of the former Norman church are to be

* See Gatty's edition of Hunter's "Hallamshire."

seen not only in the massive round pillars of the two aisles, but in the base-tablet of the S. wall of the chancel, and in the Transition-Norman lancet window, which still remains on the S. side of the presbytery, though blocked. The arches of the N. aisle are round, square-edged, with a plain soffit-rib; the bases indicate that they are somewhat late in the Norman style. In the S. aisle the arches are pointed, and the character of the capitals approaches the E. E. The church has suffered a great deal from restorations, and the sedilia and piscina are gone; the chancel arch and tower arch, the S. doorway and porch, and the E. and N. E. windows are modern; the N. wall was rebuilt in modern times, and its Norman windows are of this century. There is one Dec. window left, of reticulated design, at the E. end of the S. chapel. The windows of the S. aisle are Perp. and appear to be restorations. The N. chapel is the burial place of the Dukes of Leeds. Over the tomb of Thomas Osborne, Duke of Leeds, who was Lord Treasurer to Charles II, hangs a fine display of armour, coronets, and banners, and a very beautiful shield of embossed metal. In the chancel is a remarkably good kneeling effigy of Lady Osborne, 1622. The pulpit, reading-desk and lectern are fine specimens of Renaissance carving, and there are some good 16th century stalls in the chancel. The font appears to be of the 17th century, and has a beautiful wooden cover of the same date. The roof is late Perp. There is a good early Perp. tower.

HATHERSAGE; St. Michael. The attractions of this church are enhanced by the beauty of its situation, hill-set

as it is in one of the loveliest spots in Derbyshire. The church at first sight appears chiefly Dec. and Perp., but the skeleton of an earlier church remains in the aisles; the N. aisle is Norman or Transition (the responds have square abaci) while the S. aisle is E. E., except the westernmost pillar. The base of the second pillar in the N. aisle has evidently been made for a grouped pillar of the Transition-Norman or E. E. period. All the nave windows are of the Dec. period. The chancel arch and chancel are Perp.; the S. window and priest's doorway, each with a deep *cavetto*, the sedilia and piscina, the debased scroll-moulding which runs round the inner wall, and the mouldings of the chancel arch, are all of Perp. type. The E. window is of a type which is late in the Dec. style, and if it is not a modern restoration, it may have belonged to an earlier chancel. The Eyre chapel, which opens out of the chancel on the N., is much later Perp. The tower arch has been called Dec.; but if its small boutells, mixed with angular mouldings, gathered under one capital, the flat foliage of that capital, fitted to a square, and the Perp. battlements which are part of its decoration, do not show the Perp. style, there is no trustworthiness in architectural indications. I do not see any sign that the fine Perp. W. window is an insertion, and I believe the tower to have been added in the Perp. period, for though the upper windows are in a style common in Dec. buildings, yet windows of this style are frequently found in the upper storeys of undoubtedly Perp. towers. The porch also is Perp.; the S. doorway is quite modern. There is a good Perp. font. There is a corbel table of plain rounded dentels under the chancel roof, a

thing unusual in either the Dec. or Perp. period. Built into the N. wall of the chancel is the canopy of a Dec. tomb, a beautiful piece of work, but evidently not in its original position.* The altar tomb underneath it does not belong to it, and has been recently restored; on the top are inserted the brass figures of Robert Eyre of Hope, his wife Joan, the heiress of Padley,† and their 14 children; date 1459. Within the arch itself have been placed the brasses of Robert Eyre (eldest son of the above), his wife, and four boys. Their two girls have strayed to the other side of the chancel. On a slab of black marble let into the S. wall are two brasses to another son of the first Robert Eyre, Ralph Eyre, and his wife, 1493; they were formerly on an altar tomb. Above the sedilia are fixed brasses to Sir Arthur Eyre (and his wife) grandson of the first Eyre; the figures are kneeling at desks. There is also a small brass plate in the wrong place in the second Eyre monument mentioned above, to Robert Eyre, died 1656, at Cambridge.

In the churchyard is a grave which tradition declares to be that of Little John, the famous companion of Robin Hood.‡ The tradition, which seems to be about a hundred years old, states that he was born at Hathersage, and died in a small cottage near the church. A thigh-bone of immense size was found here about 1780. For the earth-work at Hathersage see p. 57.

* Possibly this beautiful Flamboyant arch was for an Easter Sepulchre.

† This marriage led to the prosperity of the Eyre family, and probably to the Perpendicular restoration of Hathersage church.

‡ See Appendix, Note B.

HOLMESFIELD; St. Swithin; the ancient church, which was Norman, was destroyed in 1826. For the earthwork, see p. 57.

HOOTON ROBERTS; St. John the Baptist; anciently St. Peter. The chancel with its arch has been rebuilt, but the N. wall is ancient, and has an E. E. lancet window; there is a similar window in the N. wall of the nave. There are two chapels at the end of the S. aisle, the first E. E., with the nail-head moulding to the capitals. The easternmost chapel is Norman, as the chancel was anciently. The nave appears to have been restored in the Dec. period. The tower is Perp. A huge stone coffin with a cross fleury on the lid is preserved in the church; the chalice and book mark it as the tomb of a priest.

HOPE; St. Peter. Domesday mentions a church here, and there was one in John's time, which he gave to the see of Lichfield. There is nothing in the present church however of earlier date than an E. E. piscina, with dog-tooth ornament, in the S. aisle (now behind the organ). I am inclined to believe that the piscina and sedilia in the chancel are also E. E. It is quite possible that the walls of the church are of the Dec. period; the buttresses seem to correspond to that era (the top portions having been added later, when the aisles were raised) and the mouldings of both the N. and S. doorways and the porch, are of Dec. character.* The tower is also Dec.; it shows two

* The adding of the clerestory in Perp. times, and the raising of the aisle walls which evidently took place then, will account for the substitution of Perp. pillars for older ones.

epochs of building, but I see no reason to class the upper storey and the stumpy spire as Perp., and broach spires of Perp. origin are unknown. The appearance of the church inside is entirely Perp., except for the Dec. W. window. It has a lofty and spacious nave, with tall pillars and bold capitals. The stops to the arches are decorated with Perp. panelling. The aisle windows are all Perp. The masonry of the church, which is good outside, is very rude inside. The chancel appears to have been entirely rebuilt recently. The pulpit is a beautiful specimen of Puritan art, and is dated 1652. The chancel has been panelled with the carved wood-work of former pews, and the three carved oak chairs in the Presbytery are of the same period, the 17th century. There is a small very late brass repoussé, dated 1685. Within the communion rails are two very well carved 13th century slabs, having crosses fleury in sunk relief; one has a sword and hunting-horn on it, and the other a pair of pincers. There are four slabs of the same period in the nave. The font is supposed to be of the 14th century, but has very little about it to indicate date. There is a Perp. tie-beam roof, supported by corbels suggestive of the late Yorkist period. Over the porch is a *parvise*, which has a fire-place in it. The gargoyles are amusingly hideous. In the churchyard are the steps of an ancient cross. For the Saxon cross see p. 200; for the earthwork p. 57.*

* Since the first part of this book was in the press I have re-visited Hope, and now see reason to think that the field behind the earthwork, overhanging the river, once formed the bailey court of this stronghold, which is called a castle in a document of Edward I's time. The ditch round the hillock is quite visible.

Hope was an important royal manor at the time of the Domesday Survey, and had seven berewicks belonging to it.

KILLAMARSH; St. Giles. There is little of interest in this small church, except the S. doorway, which is late Norman. The chancel is entirely modern, and the ancient glass in the S. window, as well as the ancient monumental slabs described by Cox are no longer to be seen. It is to be regretted that sham piscinæ should be put up when churches are restored, as such things are not only useless toys when modern, but will cause antiquarian confusion in the future. The roof and porch belong to a modern restoration, in 1878. The tower is Perp. In the churchyard is part of the shaft of an old cross.

LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN; All Saints. This very fine church, which is a long way from any railway station, may be reached from Roche Abbey (to which coaches run from Rotherham and Doncaster on Mondays and Thursdays) by taking the delightful footpath on the further side of the lake (about 2 miles). There was a church at Laughton in Saxon times, and a piece of Anglo-Saxon work still exists to prove it. "The Anglo-Saxon portions" says Father Haigh, "consist of the W. wall of the N. aisle, and the W. bay of the N. wall, easily distinguished from the rest of the church by their masonry, and the dark red sand-stone of which they are built. The low segmental arch which now forms the doorway is of later date, and the under sides of the original imposts have been cut away to make room for it. Long and short quoins may be seen E. of the door, and close to the second buttress of

the N. wall, proving that here was an angle in the wall, and leading to the supposition that this was a porch of the Anglo-Saxon building.* (See fig. 17, p. 61.)

This Saxon church was evidently succeeded by a Norman church, of which there are considerable remains. The chancel, in spite of the insertion of Perp. windows at the E. end and in the S. wall, is still almost wholly Norman; one Norman window is still perfect in the N. wall, and the marks of four others can be seen, two in the E. wall and two in the S.; the sedilia and piscina are also Norman, the former being a single wide arch, plain chamfered, and the latter triangular-headed. On the exterior of the chancel the Norman base-tablet and buttresses can still be traced, as well as the former line of the Norman roof. It is obvious that the chancel was much longer than is usually said to be the case with Norman chancels, and also that it had a square end. The Norman church probably had only one aisle, the pillars of which remain in the present N. aisle, with capitals alternately scalloped and voluted. The arches however are of a later period. An almost complete rebuilding of the church took place in the Transition-Dec. period, probably in the reign of Edward III, whose head, with that of his queen, in a pleated wimple, is carved on one of the windows; these heads are precisely similar to those on the porch at Aston. The S. aisle, with its columns and arches, was then added; the arch-mouldings are more elaborate than is usual in country churches of this district. The Norman arches were removed from the N. aisle, and

* "Archæological Journal," I, 401.

Transition-Dec. arches, corresponding with those of the S. aisle were substituted for them; the abaci of the Norman capitals were raised by the addition of another member which will be easily recognized by the Perp. ornament. All the windows in the church were made Perp. and the building was crowned by the addition of the extremely beautiful and lofty tower and spire, 185 feet high, the pride of the country side. The tower is vaulted and boldly groined internally. There is a great deal of interesting carving at the springing of the nave arches and on the external corbels of the windows. There is no chancel arch, but the roof is continuous throughout the church. The stone cancelli which separate the chancel from the nave are probably of the same date as the Perp. restoration. There is an old eagle-shaped lectern, perhaps of the 17th century, and a handsome Transition Dec. font. The Jacobean monument in the chancel is supposed to be to Ralph and Margaret Hatfield.

This church was restored by Sir Gilbert Scott, but it has recently been necessary to take down and rebuild the N.E. wall, which was giving way; every stone was numbered and restored to its former place. Further restoration is still going on, and I regret to say that the bases of the old Norman columns are being redressed.

There is another church at Laughton, at the further end of the village, (sometimes called Throapham) dedicated to St. John. It was rebuilt at the beginning of the last century, but is worth visiting on account of some ancient relics which it contains. The first is a hog-backed coffin

lid, carved with a cross patonce entwined in elaborate scroll-work of vine leaves and fruit, a beautiful piece of late E.E. work. The other is one of the earliest monumental inscriptions in English, dated 1373, on a slab in the floor of the middle aisle. There is a large Dec. font. Father Haigh states that the ancient altar-stone is fixed in the pavement of the S. aisle, at its S. E. corner, partly hidden by pews.*

LOVERSAL ; St. Catharine. The architecture of this church has very little interest, as it has been so much restored as to be nearly all modern. There is an early Perp. tower, and a late Perp. chantry, and the chancel arch and columns of the S. aisle (the only aisle) appear to be original, and probably Perp. In the chantry, which was built by the Wyrall family in the reign of Henry VIII, there is a very interesting effigy of much older date. It is the effigy of a man in the ordinary lay costume of the reign of Edward II, armed only with a sword and shield.† The figure wears a tippet, the hood of which is drawn over the top of his head in a roll, a long surcoat with loose sleeves hanging from the elbow, and a tunic underneath which is closely buttoned at the wrists. His shield is short and slightly curved, and has a slender cross patonce on one quarter of it. Hunter states that this device belongs to the arms of Middleton, once one of the great families of this district. There is also a fine altar-tomb (or altar?) of Perp. style in this chantry, and some well-carved Miserere seats; there is a bench of similar carving

* "Archæological Journal," I, p. 402.

† This effigy is described and figured by the late Mr. Bloxam, in a paper read to the Yorkshire Architectural Society in 1849.

in the chancel. In the churchyard is a very beautiful early Perp. altar-tomb, and one of the curious semi-effigial slabs, (see p. 178) apparently to a child.

MALTEY; St. Bartholomew. The body of this church has been entirely rebuilt, and has nothing of antiquity to shew. The tower however is one of the most interesting objects that we shall find in the whole district, as it is undoubtedly a specimen of Anglo-Saxon work, though probably not earlier than the eleventh century. It is of three stages, in all of which the *herring-bone* work, which is generally a characteristic of the 11th century, may be detected in the masonry. The two top windows are insertions of the Decorated period, but the other windows, (excepting of course the modern W. window) are Anglo-Saxon, going straight through the wall without any mouldings. The spire and battlements have of course been added at a later period.

MARR; St. Helen. This pretty and interesting church furnishes one of the many proofs that rudeness of masonry, and even herring-bone work, do not invariably point to a very ancient date. Marr was anciently part of the parish of Adwick-le-Street, and the fact that there is no mention of a church at Marr in the grant made of that parish to the convent of Hampole by Albreda de Lisours is almost conclusive evidence that there was no church there in Norman times.* There is no work in the church which can be assigned to an earlier period than the E.E., and the herring-bone work in the N. wall is supposed to be

* Though the original deed does not exist, the confirmation deed, which recapitulates it, does. V. Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster, I, 356.

only a casual restoration, such as masons resort to occasionally even at the present day. It is unusual to find an added aisle on the S. side only, as is the case here. It is evident that the original church had no windows on the N. side (the present N. window being a later insertion) for the sake of warmth, and the same desire for sunshine prevailed when the S. aisle was added. The original church appears to have been E. E. and probably the N. wall, and the walls of the chancel, which contain an E. E. window of two lights, as well as a blocked up lancet window, are of that time. The E. window has been inserted in the Dec. period, judging by its external hood-moulding. The chancel piscina is probably E. E.; there is an arch-headed awmry or credence table (it might be either) in the N. wall. The tower is also E. E. in its two lower stories and has E. E. windows; but the responds and mouldings of the tower arch into the nave are Dec., and so are the internal arches which were evidently built to support the upper (Dec.) story of the tower when it was added. The S. aisle with the chantry at its E. end, is of a later period of Dec. It is not bonded into the nave. Over one of the arcades can be traced a mutilated carving of the Crucifixion. The porch is also of the Dec. style, and is stone-vaulted, with very bold ribs. There is a Dec. font of the type more common in earlier styles, resting on pillars. The parapet and spire of the tower were added in the Perp. era. There is a brass in the chancel to John Lewis of Marr and Mary his wife, in civil costume of the Elizabethan period.*

* This brass is figured in a paper by Dr. Fairbank on "Ancient Brasses in the Deanery of Doncaster," in "Yorks. Archæol. Journal," 1890.

MELTON-ON-THE-HILL ; St. James ; anciently All Hallows. The chancel arch (though restored) is probably one of the earliest specimens of Norman work in the district, and may well date from the reign of Henry I, when the church is said to have been founded. It is a plain square-edged arch, without responds, but with a square chamfered impost to the jambs. The arcades of the aisle are somewhat later in style ; the arches are of early type, being round, and square-edged, but the pillars have bases which approach the Transition, and scalloped capitals with the nail-head moulding between the scallops. This church, like that of Marr, has a S. aisle only, and probably had originally no windows in the N. wall. The present windows in the N. wall are Perp. ; those in the S. wall Dec. In some of these windows, as well as in the church, fragments of Norman mouldings have been used up. There is more ancient glass to be seen in this church than is usually the case ; the two Eastern windows of the N. wall have a good deal (which does not correspond to the description given in Hunter) and in the W. window of the S. aisle is the figure of William de Melton Archbishop of York (1317—1340). There was evidently an extensive restoration of this church in the Dec. period, when the porch, the clerestory, and the lower stories of the tower were added ; also a N. door, (now blocked up) at the side of which is the niche for a holy water stoup. The chantry of Our Lady (at the end of the S. aisle) was founded in 1400 ;* the unvarnished oak screen is a beautiful specimen of early Perp. The upper story of the tower is Perp. ; on the W. face of the Dec. portion is a singular bold niche

* "Chantry Certificates," 160.

evidently for a statue. There is an old and ugly font, shaped like a Roman amphora. This church was given to the nuns of Hampole by William Fitz-Godric and his second wife Albreda de Lisours, in the 12th century.†

MEXBOROUGH; St. Peter. This church has been largely rebuilt, and an octagonal apse thrown out, but two lancet windows of the E. E. period still remain in the chancel, and two Norman pillars in the N. aisle with round arches, square-edged. The tower arch and chancel arch have been restored. The two lower stories of the tower are E. E. or Transition-Norman, with a Decorated W. window inserted. The upper story and short spire are Dec. The line of the high-pitched E. E. roof of the nave may be seen on the W. side of the tower. I was informed that the old font was buried inside the tower; I do not know what it had been doing to deserve this.

NORTON; St. James. A church of great interest. The nave is in the Transition-Norman style, and has round pillars in the N. aisle, and octagonal in the S. aisle, but both have the E. E. base, which is common in the Transition-Norman period. The arches, with one exception, are pointed. The tower arch and chancel arch belong to the same style, and have very richly carved capitals, especially to the chancel arch. The windows are Perp.; the N. wall has been rebuilt in modern times, and the aisle widened. The arcades of the chancel are Perp., and it is remarkable that the arches of the pillars are round. The E. window is a very graceful specimen of Perp.; its hood-moulding outside

† V. Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," I. 331.

is supported by corbel heads. The chancel has a chapel on each side of later date; the one to the S. is called the Blythe chapel, and is built of limestone. It contains a fine monument (much injured) to William Blythe and his wife, good specimens of civil costume of the Early Tudor period, put up by their son, who was Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and who founded this chantry in the year 1524. This chapel still has its original roof. There is a curious divided squint. Another, from the Blythe chapel, has been walled up. The tower is Perp. There is an E.E. font of great interest, supported on groups of filleted pillars, with the dog-tooth moulding between (fig. 84).* Part of the shaft of an old cross is in the churchyard.

PADLEY chapel. Under the head of Hathersage, we have seen that the Eyre family rose in the world through the marriage of Robert Eyre with the heiress of Padley, in the 15th century. The Eyres built a large hall at Padley, the only remains of which are the dilapidated chapel, now not far from Grindleford Bridge Station. The chapel was on the upper floor of this building, and is used as a barn, so that it is full of hay for the greater part of the year, and its details cannot be examined. Canon Cox says the roof has "four finely carved hammer beams . . . those towards the E. end have well designed shield-bearing angels." The style is of course Perp.; there is a corbel table outside with a simple ball ornament. A tragic human interest attaches to this ramshackle little barn.

* The lizard-like creature on this font is probably meant for the Salamander, which is said to typify baptism "with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Paley's "Baptismal Fonts," p. 30.

The Eyre family remained faithful to the Roman church after the Reformation, and so did their descendants and heirs, the Fitzherberts. George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, lord of Sheffield Castle, and gaoler of Mary Queen of Scots, was a keen hunter after recusants, and in 1588 he dropped suddenly down on Padley Hall, and found two priests hidden in the large chimney of this chapel. They were hung, drawn, and quartered at Derby, dying with true Christian constancy. What wonder that the Fitzherberts and Eyres have been Catholics ever since !

PENISTONE; St. John Baptist. This interesting church tempts one to a guess at its architectural history. It appears to have been once a cruciform E. E. church, though three pillars with square abaci on the N. side of the nave may have belonged to a still earlier Norman church, and there is also some herring-bone work at the end of the N. aisle, which *may* be a part of the same edifice. The other pillars of the nave are all E. E., with the proper bases. The chancel has two if not three E. E. windows; the two first are in the S. wall, which itself is no doubt original, as it still has a string course showing its former height. One of these windows is a shoulder-headed arch with two foiled lights; the other is a pointed window with intersecting bar tracery. Both have the curve-and-slant hood-mould, supported by corbel heads of women in wimples. The E. window is another intersecting window, and is of a size and breadth very unusual in the 13th century, but it has the same hood-mould as the E. E. windows, and this hood-mould is finished with the *mask* ornament, which is peculiar to E. E. We may be certain

that the church was cruciform in E. E. times, because the string course on the old S. wall of the chancel still marks the slope of the former transept roof, and we may therefore believe that the one intersecting window in the E. wall of this transept is original, though it is much less weathered

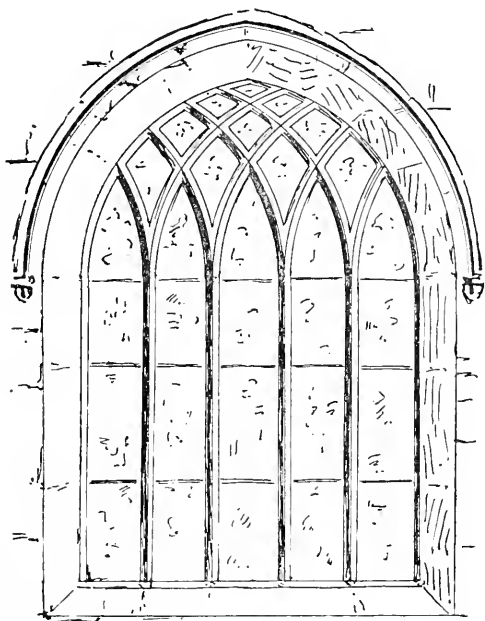


FIG. 101.—INTERSECTING WINDOW TRACERY.

PENISTONE CHURCH.

than the one in the chancel wall. Bar tracery was not seen in the N. of England before 1250, and we may therefore ascribe this chancel and transept to the close of the E. E. period. In the Dec. period the aisles of the

church were so much widened that the cruciform plan was very nearly obliterated; the S. doorway belongs to this alteration, and so does the priest's doorway in the chancel; both have the sunk quarter-round in their mouldings. The buttresses, which are of the same pattern all round the church, and which have their width slightly greater than their projection, may belong to the same period, but they seem so very well preserved that they hint at some modern restoration. It would appear that when the aisles were widened the W. walls of the transepts were taken down, as part of a *wooden* arch which remains at the E. end of the N. aisle has a well carved female head in a wimple, and some delicate mouldings of Dec. style.* The central tower either fell or was removed in the (late) Perp. period, and a Perp. tower was then built at the W. end. It is a lofty tower, and has diagonal buttresses, though its other features are those of late Perp. The W. door has two deep cavettos, decorated with stars, roses and heads. When the old tower was gone the chancel was enlarged by taking in the space under the tower, and a new chancel arch was built in Perp. style, fronting the nave. New Perp. arches and responds were also given to the openings into the former transepts, which were once chantries, though the only trace of a chantry which remains is a credence table in the N. chapel, now concealed behind the organ. I must admit that the arch of this chapel has the sunk quarter-round moulding, which is generally a sign of Dec.; but the capitals of both responds are unmistakably

* It is probable that this transept contained the chantry of Our Lady, the earliest mention of which is in the 14th year of Edward III (1340). Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," II, 341.

Perp.* All the windows, except those I have described already, are of the Perp. period, and those of the N. aisle, and the main windows of each transept, are late Perp., having round sub-arches. The nave and chancel walls were raised, and the clerestory added to the nave, at the same epoch. The porch has been built at some debased period, but seems to contain some early work from other parts of the church; unless I am much mistaken, its S. window is an E. E. one, and the little arches near the floor belonged to some former piscinæ. To complete the collection, the benches are 13th century tomb-slabs with crosses fleury. The vestry is modern.

For the earthworks in the Penistone district see p. 43.

RAWMARSH; St. Mary. This church has been completely rebuilt in this century, and a Norman S. doorway, with small column, is all that has been preserved of the ancient fabric. A brass to John Darley of Kilnhurst, 1616, and his kneeling family, is still to be seen. In the churchyard is the carved shaft of an ancient cross, with a modern head and arms superadded.

ROTHERHAM; All Saints. "One of the finest churches in Yorkshire," says Rickman. This church is a standing challenge to our boastful nineteenth century, with its progress and its ugliness; it bids us consider what the men of the despised middle ages could do, even in a period of decadence. Nothing can exceed the impression of

* The other transept was probably the chantry of St. Erasmus; an old inscription, formerly on a wooden seat, stated that this chapel was built (*i.e.* the transept turned into a chantry) in 1530. Hunter, II, 341.

majestic beauty given by its interior; it was built by men who knew what effects could be got by observing the laws of proportion, who aimed at what was practicable, and accomplished it.

There was a church in Rotherham in Saxon times, as Domesday book tells us, and during the restorations which took place in the present century some fragments were found which may have belonged to the Saxon church; they are the remains of a door jamb and some wall foundations, which are under the N.W. pier of the tower. Soon after the Conquest, the Saxon church was succeeded by a Norman one, and of this many fragments have been found, built into the present fabric; some portions of Norman capitals and bases are still shown under one of the pillars of the S. aisle, where they have been used as foundations. It is even believed that the present tower, in its lower stages at any rate, is Norman work, for the flat Norman buttresses can still be seen inside the church, over the arches of the transepts.* A Norman roll-moulding and chamfered plinth are visible, too, on the base of the S. wall of the chancel, outside, and the rude Norman masonry can be traced inside in places. But it is certain that the greater part of the present church was built by Thomas Rotherham,† Archbishop of York, in the days of Edward

* See a paper on this church by Mr. Henry Cane, in Guest's "History of Rotherham," pp. 55, 56; also p. 317 seq.

† See chapter I, p. 8. It is strange that Guest devotes several pages to discussing the question whether Thomas Rotherham built this church or not, when on page 130 he prints an extract from the "Patent Roll," 20 Edward IV (1481) expressly stating that this prelate, then Bishop of Lincoln, had newly built the church of Rotherham.

IV. It is said that his heraldic insignia of three bucks *trippant* are to be seen on parts of the church, though I confess that I have not been able to find them, nor have I been able to see his monogram, which is stated to be cut into the sides of the beams of the chancel roof. In his time there appears to have been a chancel of the Dec. period, with partly Norman walls, and a tower of which the same might be said.* Archbishop Thomas did not pull down this chancel, but he raised the roof, and inserted windows in the Perp. style. The line of the older chancel roof can still be seen on the tower wall, inside the chancel, and on the outside one of the old finials, built into the 15th century wall. In consequence of this raising of the church roof, the old Dec. windows of the tower now look into the church. The archbishop transformed the tower by cutting out of it the lofty arches of the present crossing, (which cut off parts of the Dec. windows in the tower) and ornamenting them with Perp. mouldings, and by adding the upper story and the beautiful and lofty spire. We may also assign to him the fan-vaulting of the tower. The chancel and transepts still have their diagonal buttresses; the nave has straight ones. Some parts of the transept walls must be anterior to Archbishop Thomas' time, as they show the water-tabling of the Dec. roof of the S. chantry, but the transepts have evidently been largely recast by his architect.

* Guest has printed a document of the year 1409, stating that the tower of this church was to be rebuilt *from its foundations*. This cannot have been carried out, as not only is the Norman work still visible, but the lower windows of the Dec. period remain.

There can be no doubt that he built the nave, which is one of the most beautiful specimens of Perp. in England, and shews how good Perp. can combine lightness and majesty. The pillars are very characteristic specimens of Perp., having their greatest length in plan N. and S., and very little projection in their bases and capitals. The effect of the interior is heightened by its colour; the red sandstone gives the softest pink hue to the whole fabric. The nave roof is a fine piece of Perp. wood-work; and there is a very good Jacobean pulpit. Two hideous corbels which stand out of the W. crossing arch, probably once supported the rood-loft.

To return to the chancel. The three graceful sedilia, the piscina and awmry, and the three niches on the side of what was once the high altar, may possibly have belonged to the Dec. church, though they have some marks of late work. The arcades of the chancel, however, the pillars with their battlemented caps, are undoubtedly Perp., and I see no reason to doubt that they were part of Archbishop Thomas' alterations. There were formerly five if not six chantries in this church, though only two chantry chapels can now be traced. These chantries were

The chantry of Our Lady, founded 1317.*

The chantry of the Holy Cross, founded 1421.*

The Carnbull chantry, founded 1505.†

The chantry of St. Catharine, date unknown.‡

Hunter also mentions a chantry of St. John.

* "Chantry Certificates," I, p. 208.

† This is called in the Survey the Chantry of Jesus and Our Lady.

‡ Guest's "History of Rotherham."

The S. chapel was the Lady Chapel; it bears on one of the carved bosses of the roof the symbol of the five wounds of Christ, as well as the monogram A.M. (*Alma Mater*), but it has now no sign of the Dec. period except a few traces outside, and an altar which is probably original. The very beautiful screens which formerly enclosed this chapel, one of which is now above the choir stalls on the N. side, are considered by some to be of earlier style than Archbishop Rotherham's work, but it does not appear to me that this is conclusive. The old Norman font of the former church is kept here. A squint opens from this chapel into one of the sedilia.

The N. chapel is generally supposed to be the chantry founded by Henry Carnebull in 1505, and to this its architecture corresponds, as it is later Perp. than the nave. Careful observation by good eyes on the roofs of these chapels might possibly detect symbols which would throw light on their dedication. In this chapel is a brass to Robert Swift (1561) representing himself and his family, fixed into a canopied altar tomb.* Swift was a mercer in Rotherham in the reign of Elizabeth; he got for himself a large share of the plunder of Archbishop Thomas' College in Rotherham, and rose in the world, so as to be able to marry his daughter into the distinguished family of the Reresbys of Thrybergh. There is another tomb of the same century in this N. chapel, but it is nameless. The church is singularly devoid of ancient monuments.

* Hunter says this tomb is a copy of Archbishop Rokeby's in Sandal church. The Swift brass has been engraved in the "*Yorkshire Archæol. Journal*," Vol. for 1890, paper by Dr. Fairbank on "*Ancient Brasses*."

The clerestory windows of the chancel are of very late and bad Perp., probably the 16th century. The E. window was inserted by Sir Gilbert Scott when the church was restored. There is a great deal of "restored" work on the outside, done by Sir Gilbert Scott; let us hope that it faithfully represents the old. The S. porch is entirely modern.

The Chapel on the Bridge at Rotherham cannot be earlier than 1483, since one John Bokying in his will, made in that year, leaves money to the fabric of the chapel *to be built* on Rotherham Bridge.* Chapels on bridges were common in the middle ages; they were built that pilgrims and travellers might pay their devotions there on entering the town, and that their contributions might be used for the support of the bridge. There were similar chapels on the bridges of Sheffield and Doncaster. The Rotherham chapel, which was dedicated to Our Lady, contained an image of the Virgin in fine gold. All its ornamental features, even to the window tracery, were swept away after the Reformation. It became in turn an almshouse and a prison, and is now a tobacco-shop. It was extensively repaired in 1682, when it had become ruinous.

SHEFFIELD; St. Peter. There was a church here in the days of Henry II, and there may have been one earlier, as the Countess Judith, the widow of Earl Waltheof, gave two thirds of the tithes of Sheffield to the Benedictine monks of St. Wandrille in Normandy. These monks had

* Guest, "History of Rotherham," 125.

a small colony in Ecclesfield.* The remaining interests of the church of Sheffield were given by William de Lovetot (who inherited the possessions of Waltheof and Judith) to the canons of Worksop, and from that time till the Reformation the vicars of Sheffield were always canons of Worksop.† There is no architecture in the present church older than the Perp. period, to which the arcades of the chancel, the arches of the crossing, and the tower and spire belong.‡ The modern nave, which was rebuilt from the ground in 1805, appears to be copied from the style of the chancel. Even the chancel has been completely recased. It has three chapels at the E. end, divided by walls, so that there is only room for one pillar in each aisle of the chancel, but these octagonal pillars are remarkably lofty, and the arches narrow and graceful. There are three fine Dec. windows, which according to Dr. Gatty are original.§ The N. chapel contains three ancient stalls, with desks, in black oak. The stone slab of the ancient high altar is preserved, marked with the five consecration crosses. In the S. or Shrewsbury chapel are some remarkable monuments: (1) the effigies of the founder,

* See page 134.

† How the Lovetots, the Shrewsburies, and subsequently the Norfolks, came into the inheritance of Earl Waltheof and Richard de Busli, may be seen in the pedigrees in Hunter's "Deanery of Doncaster."

‡ The windows of the tower are flamboyant, but there has been so much modernisation in this church that no reliance can be placed on individual features so far from the eye.

§ See the Supplementary chapter to his edition of Hunter's "Hallamshire"; also a paper by Dr. Gatty in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, Vol. XXX.

George, 4th earl of Shrewsbury, and his two wives, temp. Henry VIII; these are under the arch dividing the chapel from the presbytery, they are exceedingly fine and in excellent preservation; (2) a plain tomb, bearing the arms of George, 6th earl of Shrewsbury, and his first wife; Mr. Stacey conjectures that it is the tomb of this lady, Gertrude Manners, daughter of the first Duke of Rutland; (3) the 6th earl's own monument, against the S. wall. He is the earl who for so many years was the gaoler of Mary Queen of Scots. The arches of the crossing underneath the tower are Perp., and are almost exactly like those of Rotherham,* so that it is evident that the one was copied from the other, but which was the original I do not undertake to pronounce. The door which formerly led to the rood-loft is still visible. The spire is Perp. There are two monuments by Chantrey in the church, a bust of the Rev. J. Wilkinson, † 1805, and a monument to Sir Thomas Harrison and his wife.

SILKSTONE; All Saints. This is a very interesting church; it was given at an early period to the monks of Pontefract. It anciently had a central tower, and may have been cruciform, but in 1479 the tower had become ruinous, and was taken down and rebuilt, in Perp. style, at the W. end. The ancient Norman pillars which remain must have been the supports of the tower. Two of them now support the chancel arch, which is of a much later

* The same might be said of the pillars in the chancel, except that they are much more lofty than those of Rotherham; they have the same style of battlemented capitals; these battlemented capitals are now believed by the best authorities to belong to the Perp. period only.

period, and one separates the N. chantry from the chancel. The E. end of the chancel has been completely rebuilt in modern times, but the vestry, which is a sort of crypt, appears to be ancient. Like the similar crypt in the church at Bradfield, it may have been a lodging for the ecclesiastic sent by the convent at Pontefract to minister in the church. The aisle chapels of the chancel are both Perp.; that on the N. side was dedicated to Our Lady; the one on the S. side to St. James. The latter was the chapel of the Wentworths of Bretton, and contains the monument of Matthew Bretton, 1572, and two very stout marble effigies of Sir Thomas Wentworth and his wife, 1675. A singularly beautiful carved oak screen, of late or Transition-Dec., shuts off the chancel and its aisles from the nave. The nave is remarkably wide, and the view towards the chancel very effective. The columns are round on the N. side, octagonal on the S.; they may have belonged to an older church, as they are raised on very high bases. As the capitals are of Decorated character, while the bases are Perp. we may perhaps class the arrangement as Transition-Dec. The roofs are good Perp. work, with carved bosses. The tower arch is very lofty. The gargoyles on the outside of the church are well worth notice. The peculiar flying buttresses by which the gargoyles are as it were pinned through are on exactly the same plan as those of Ecclesfield, and look as though they came from the hand of the same artist. These gargoyles are frequently satirical in character, and as this church belonged to one of the older orders of monks (the Cluniacs) we may suspect that the cowed figures are intended to ridicule their enemies the Friars. There is one of a

Pilgrim, wearing a collar of shells, on the N. side. The angel is probably modern; several of these gargoyles have been restored. Silkstone is charmingly placed in the midst of almost untainted woodland country, with a wide perspective of wavy hills; and the devastating coal industry, to which the place owes its fame, is almost entirely out of sight.

SOUTH KIRKBY; All Saints. This may be called an early Perpendicular church built on an E. E. kernel. The arcades of the nave are E. E., of such very early work that they might almost be called Transition-Norman. The same may be said of the chancel arch. The arcade of the N. chancel aisle is also E. E., but of a much more developed character. The wall of the presbytery, which is in line with this arcade, is evidently a portion of the wall of the E. E. church, as it contains a blocked up lancet window and E. E. doorway. The W. doorway in the tower has also some E. E. mouldings, curiously disguised by a Perp. hood-mould with angel corbels. The outer shell of the church was evidently completely rebuilt in the early Perp. period, probably during the reign of Richard II. The walls of the nave have Perp. buttresses, and base tablets, but the windows are all modern. The S. doorway is of rather elaborate Perp. work, and has a porch of the same style, stone-vaulted, the ribs sustained by elegant carved brackets. The windows of the porch have been restored, but retain their ancient corbels, one of which is a lady in dress of the early Perp. period.* The heads of

* Hunter thought the shields on the porch were about the age of Edward IV. If so they can only refer to some restoration of the porch, for the costume of the corbel-heads is undoubtedly at least fifty years earlier.

two bishops outside the porch have their hair in the Edwardian style which did not go out of fashion till the reign of Henry IV, and the same might be said of the king's head on the left side of the S. door, which might very well pass for Edward III; but seeing that queen Philippa died in 1369 it seems more likely that the royal pair whose heads adorn each side of the porch are intended for Richard II and his queen. This porch has a parvise, apparently inaccessible now. There is a handsome niche on the front, to which a modern figure of Christ has been restored. The tower is of the same style of Perp. work; its lofty internal arch is supported on very good corbels of an oak-leaf design, of very similar character to those of the porch. It has canopied diagonal buttresses, and all its windows are Perp. Though there is a marked change in the stone in the two top stories, I do not see that there is any change in the style. There is no water-tabling from a roof older than the Perp. time. Probably the pillars of the nave were raised on their present high plinths at the time of the Perp. rebuilding, and the remarkably wide arches, much wider than is usual in E. E. may belong to the same date. The N. doorway is in the same style as the S.; it has a remarkably shallow porch. The next addition to the church was the S. chantry,* which is distinguished from the rest of the church by having battlements and pierced gargoyle buttresses, like those already described at Silkstone and Ecclesfield. The windows of the chantries are the only original windows left in the church; those of the S. chantry have some very

* The Chantry Certificates do not give the date of these chantries.

curious carving to the window-corbels; one (on the E. window) represents a demon tearing out the heart and tongue of a lost soul. Still later in the Perp. period, the N. chantry was built. It is a puzzle at first to find it separated from the chancel by an E. E. arcade, but it is evident that the chancel must always have had a N. aisle, and that the chantry was built out afterwards, flush with the wall of the nave. One of the windows is round-headed, the other square with round arches. The only ancient monument in this chantry is a plain slab with the French inscription, "*En Dieu est tout.*" This is the motto of the Wentworths of N. Elmsall, who were probably buried in this chapel. The piscina in this chapel, and the one in the chancel, appear to be restorations. The roof of the nave appears to be much restored Perp.; that of the N. aisle has carved bosses and supports which would be more interesting if one could see them better. The very poor clerestory windows are probably of later date. The E. end of the chancel, with the E. window, is entirely modern. The only trace of Dec. work is a well executed niche, now fixed in the N. wall of the nave.

SPROTBOROUGH; St. Mary. A late Norman respond on the N. side of the chancel arch, behind the pulpit, testifies to the existence of a Norman church here, which we may doubtless regard as the church of Albreda de Lisours, the Norman heiress of Sprotborough, who gave proof of her devotion by her gift of the churches of Adwick-le-Street and Melton to the nuns of Hampole. Albreda was born about 1130, and married for her first husband Robert de Laci, lord of Pontefract. Her second husband was a

certain William de Clarefaix, also called William Fitz-Godric. The name Godric is so purely Saxon that we are justified in concluding that Godric was one of the few Englishmen who succeeded in retaining a portion at least of his wealth and position after the Norman conquest.* William Fitz-Godric had already been considered worthy to marry into a distinguished Norman family; his first wife was Avicia de Tani, and in conjunction with her he founded the monastery at Hampole for Cistercian nuns. By his second wife, Albreda de Lisours, he became the ancestor of the Fitzwilliam family, which thus owes its origin to Sprotborough; but though his son was doubtless spoken of in Norman society as William Fitzwilliam, the surname of Fitzwilliam does not seem to have been finally adopted till a few generations later.†

To return to the architecture of the church. The first important alteration made to the church (as far as we can trace) was the substitution of the present spacious and lofty chancel in the Transition E. E. period (probably in the reign of Edward I) for the Norman chancel. While the windows on the S. side of the chancel are pure E. E., those on the N. side have geometrical tracery, and I may remark here that tracery of this form, common as it is in cathedrals and great abbeys, is extremely uncommon in the country churches of our district. The E. wall shows by a

* When the Norman nobles wished to ridicule Henry I, who had married an English wife, for his English proclivities, they called him and his queen Godric and Godeva. William of Malmesbury, lib. V. anno 1101.

† For the pedigree and history of the Fitzwilliam line, see Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," Sprotborough.

moulding on the outside that it has once had a splendid Dec. window, which was succeeded by a window with a flattened arch, and this again was superseded by the present window, which I take to be churchwarden Gothic of the present or last century. To the chancel was formerly attached a N. chapel of the Dec. period (now the vestry) which evidently had an upper room. The profuse use of the scroll-moulding, which will be noticed on the sedilia and all the mouldings of the chancel, are indications that it was built when E. E. was merging into Dec. At some later time there was a Dec. restoration of the nave. This is shewn by the two Dec. windows which still survive at the W. ends of the aisles. The chancel arch is of the same period, and the lower half of the tower was probably built at this time. The pillars of the nave belong by their mouldings to the Perp. type.* A paper shown in the church, by the Rev. Scott Surtees, says that the N. aisle was added in 1629, but it can only have been rebuilt then, as the Dec. W. window shows that it existed in the Dec. period, just as the respond behind the pulpit proves that there was a Transition-Norman N. aisle. The raising of the nave walls and the addition of the upper half of the tower (which is ornamented with a handsome frieze) may be safely assigned to the Perp. time. The mark of the high-pitched roof of the Dec. church is to be seen on the lower part of the tower. The N. porch has an inscription recording its restoration in the 17th century. It was probably in this century that the very poor square windows which now exist were inserted in the nave. The

* The floor of the nave was raised about 50 years ago, on account of the damp; this has concealed the bases of the pillars.

Perp. roof of the nave is painted in a somewhat barbaric, but still effective manner.

This church contains an unusual number of objects of unique interest. The rarest of these is the stone Frith-stool, or sanctuary seat, *i.e.* a seat in which runaways from justice or oppression were safe for a time from their pursuers. This chair was dug up in the churchyard; it is not older than the 14th century. There are only two other Frith-stools preserved in England, at Hexham and Beverley Minster. Next in rarity comes the very handsome screen of the Dec. style, of black oak; it has of course been restored.* To this screen are attached on the chancel side seven of the stalls of the peculiar kind called *miserere*; three of them retain their original carving, representing the expulsion of Satan and his angels from heaven. Stalls of this kind generally indicate that the church has a monastic connection of some sort. Possibly this connection is to be sought in the Hospital of St. Edmund, which was founded by the Fitzwilliams, at about a mile and a half's distance from the church.† The Chantry of St. Catharine, which was founded by one of the Fitzwilliams in this Hospital, was afterwards removed "to the altar of St. Edmund in Sprotborough parish church,"‡ and

* "It was restored at the same time as the church, and the ancient part cannot be distinguished from the modern." Fardell's "Sprotborough"; a book from which very little information about this church can be gleaned. Probably the cornice of the screen, which is of later style than the rest of the work, was added at this or some other restoration.

† Dugdale, "Monasticon," VII, 782.

‡ "Chantry Certificates," 157. This chantry was founded in 1364.



FIG. 102.—

EFFIGY AT SPROTBOROUGH.
 Dame Isabel Fitzwilliam?



FIG. 103.—

FITZWILLIAM EFFIGY AT
 SPROTBOROUGH.

From Hunter's "Deanery of Doncaster."

possibly these stalls may be for the Master and chaplains of the Hospital.

In what has once been a chantry at the end of the S. aisle are two very fine effigies in very good preservation. One is that of a lady in a pleated wimple, lying under a beautiful founder's arch of the Dec. period. It is generally considered that this is the effigy of Isabel Fitzwilliam, who in her will, dated 1348, desires to be buried in the chantry of St. Thomas. Her dress, which shows the earlier form of the *surcote ouverte* without a girdle, corresponds to that date, and the pleated wimple or *barbe* which she wears is a sign of widowhood.* Isabel Fitzwilliam survived her husband Sir William Fitzwilliam many years. The other effigy which lies near hers is supposed to be her husband's, and the lozenges on the breast show him to be a Fitzwilliam. It is however singular that she should have left him out in the cold, instead of accommodating him in the same handsome berth as herself. Moreover the knight is clad from head to foot in chain mail, and Sir William was alive as late as 1331, a date at which mixed armour, partly of plate, had long been introduced. His costume would better suit the date of another Sir William, son of the former, who was hanged at Pontefract in 1322 for his share in the rebellion of Earl Thomas of Lancaster.

There is a good brass in the chancel to another Fitzwilliam and his wife, dated 1474, which furnishes an instance of armour of the Yorkist period, though less extravagant than many specimens; this man left money

* See page 191 note *

for the rebuilding of the tower, thus kindly providing us with the date of the upper part. In one of the windows of the N. aisle is a shield with the arms of Gascoigne, and the initials of that Judge Gascoigne about whose encounter with Prince Harry there is the well-known legend. The Gascoigne family had a seat at Cusworth, in this neighbourhood. Against the S. wall of the chancel there is an altar-tomb to Philip Copley, his wife, and children, 1577. The old black oak pulpit has some curious carving the meaning of which has been much discussed; and many of the pews are handsomely carved. Some tattered flags which hang from the roof are said to have belonged to Charles I's army.

STANTON; St. Winifred's.* There has been a Norman church here, of which the chancel arch, plain and square-edged, with chamfered imposts in the earliest style, still remains. The body of the church, which has no aisles, appears to have been completely renewed in the Dec. period, to which all the windows belong except two ugly modern ones. Rather late in the same period the chantry chapel was added, which has a very fine reticulated square-headed window. The tower is early Perp.

STAVELEY; St. John Baptist. This church has been so much restored as to be almost rebuilt; yet it still retains a good deal of old work, and some of special interest. The N. aisle is entirely new, the church having anciently had

* A rather remarkable dedication, as St. Winifred is generally said to be a Welsh saint, though the name is pure Saxon. Canon Raine remarks on the absence of dedications to British saints in Yorkshire generally. "Archæological Journal," II, 180.

only a S. aisle; the E. end of the chancel, the porch, and the S.W. end of the S. aisle are also new. But the two lower storeys of the tower, (which have very wide buttresses) and the tower arch, are E.E.; and the S. doorway may be classed as E.E. also, for though the square abacus would assign it to the Transition-Norman, the stiff-stalk foliage is too marked to be anything but E.E. The head of this door is restored. The chancel arch is E.E., but how much is restoration I cannot say; as it was formerly covered by a gallery, it has perhaps been only scraped. A rude shoulder-headed piscina which is preserved in the S. wall may also be a relic of the E.E. church. The S. aisle is plainly Perp., and the two westernmost pillars are of ruder and more debased Perp. than the more eastern ones. There are two Perp. windows and one modern one to this aisle; one of the Perp. windows is composed of two shoulder-arched lights, with the usual Perp. division. These shoulder-arches are very rarely found in Perp. work.* The S. (and only) aisle of the chancel is Perp., but the arch leading into it from the nave is part of the modern restorations. In this aisle, the eastern portion of which formed the Frecheville chantry, is preserved a handsome Perp. niche. On the floor of the chantry are two monumental slabs with incised crosses. Between the chantry and the chancel is an alabaster slab to Sir John Frecheville, died 1509. His figure is incised on the top, in armour of the Early Tudor period; he has long hair, a mail collar, large coudes, pauldrons, with passguards, enormous tuiles, showing a fringe of mail between them,

* Did this window belong to an E.E. chapel, of which there are some signs?

and round-toed sabbatons. On the N. side of the chancel, his father Sir Peter Frecheville rejoices in no less than two tombs. The first is an altar tomb, inside the communion rails, having a brass inlaid which is partly gone; it represents him in Early Tudor costume, wearing a *tabard* emblazoned with his arms. Above is a representation of the Trinity. The other monument is a brass now fixed in the N. wall, representing himself, his wife, eight boys, and seven girls, all in Early Tudor costume. He died in 1503.* In the N. aisle of the nave there is now placed a sort of niche, being an ogee arch, enriched with rudely carved figures on both sides. As one of them plainly wears the armour of the *Cmail* period, we may be quite sure that this monument is early Perp. The font is the oldest thing about the church, and is probably Norman; it is of the tub shape, supported on a square base which is borne by a thick central shaft and four smaller ones at the angles. It is of very rude workmanship. The Sanctus bell-cote remains in position on the E. gable of the nave, with the bell in it; a most unusual circumstance. In the churchyard are the steps and shaft of an ancient cross.

STEETLEY. This little gem of Norman work (about two miles from Whitwell station), was allowed to go to ruin for at least two centuries; probably it was one of the many chapels which went out of use at the time of the Reformation. It has lately been restored to church uses, roofed and repaired. Though small it is richly decorated,

* Canon Cox mentions also an incised slab to an ecclesiastic, of the 14th century. I did not see this. There is also a marble tomb to Lady Baring + 1653, apparently the last of the Frechevilles.

and is almost unique in preserving its Norman apse. The apse has a beautifully carved string course running round it outside. There is an elaborate corbel table to the nave, some of the carvings being floral designs, others interlacing work. The base tablets are unusually elaborate for Norman work, and late in style. The S. doorway has been a magnificent piece of work, and is now restored, with its remarkable diapered pediment. The deep undercutting of some of the work shows that it is late Norman. The medallions on one of the shafts appear to represent the twelve signs of the zodiac. The chancel arch is also a fine piece of Norman carving; one of the capitals seems to represent the fight between St. George and the dragon. Canon Cox says "The arch into the apse is simply surrounded with the billet moulding, but the capitals of the shafts are handsomely carved with foliage. The apse is vaulted with stone, and is supported by four well-moulded ribs or groins ornamented with the beak-head design. At the junction of these ribs, in the centre of the roof, is an oval medallion carved with an *Agnus Dei*. The capitals of the four engaged shafts, from which the ribs spring, are all beautifully designed, the most striking one representing the temptation of Adam and Eve. There are some slight remains of colour in the roof of the apse."* A window in the S. wall of the chancel is an insertion of the Dec. period, the only thing, except the modern repairs, which is not of the Norman age.

SWINTON; St. Mary. Ancient church destroyed.

* "Notes on Derbyshire Churches," I, 401,

TANKERSLEY; St. Peter. This church has a N. aisle, the arcades of which are the oldest part of the fabric, being Transition-Norman in character. It appears to have been rebuilt in the Dec. period, to which the chancel with its piscina and credence table belong. At this time the roof was raised, and the pillars of the aisle were placed on high bases of Dec. character. The tower, porch, and S. doorway are of Perp. date, and at that epoch the roof gable was lowered, as the present Perp. roof partly conceals the Dec. chancel arch. A number of ancient mediæval grave-stones have been built into the wall of the porch.*

Tankersley Hall, which once stood in the midst of a splendid park, is now a remarkably uninteresting ruin, not worth going to see.

THORPE SALVIN; St. Peter. A small but highly interesting church. A timbered porch, probably of Henry VII's time, protects the very beautiful late Norman doorway. The chancel arch is Norman, with fine mouldings, and shafts bearing cushion capitals. The tower arch is Transition-Norman, and possibly the lower part of the tower may be of the same date, though the upper part is late Perp. The present N. aisle and chancel are chiefly of the Dec. period; the exceedingly clumsy arch at the S. end of the aisle must have been built when the chantry chapel was founded in 1380;* but the arches of the nave are Norman. The E. window is a very beautiful specimen of

* One of these, bearing a chalice and book, shewing it to be a priest's grave, is noticed in Boutell's "Christian Monuments," p. 6c.

* "Chantry Certificates," 182.

Dec. work; there is or was one lancet window on the S. side of the chancel; but an ugly organ chamber has recently been built out on that side. There are three Dec. sedilia in the presbytery. Many of the arches of this church shew signs of ancient painting; the chancel arch has evidently been covered with an elaborate pattern.

The chantry of Our Lady above spoken of contains monuments of the Sandford family; one of the Jacobean period, which has the figures of three kneeling girls and a baby, below the kneeling parents, is that of Sir Roger Portington and his wife. Sir Stephen Glynne says in his notes of this church: "On the S. side of the nave are two curious windows, with tracery which may be called Flamboyant, each of two lights, with a pointed arch set within a square."* The font is a most valuable specimen of Norman sculpture, in excellent preservation. It has representations of the sacrament of baptism, and of the four seasons. A chained Bible is preserved in the church, dated 1640. The village of Thorpe Salvin was anciently called Ryknielthorpe, and is believed to lie on the track of the ancient Rykniel Street.† The Tudor hall is in ruins; it was formerly the seat of the Sandfords.

THRYBERGH; St. Leonard. Until recently the rubble walling of a very ancient church, possibly præ-conquestal, could be traced in the walls of the present church. This ancient church was lengthened at the W. end in the

* "Yorkshire Archæological Journal," 1895.

† Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," I, 309.

Norman period, and the Norman doorway belonging to this addition may still be traced on the N. side. The lower storeys of the tower were added in the E. E. period, and the chancel was built in the Dec. period. At the beginning of the 15th century the upper portion of the tower and the short spire were added; a few years later the roof of the nave was raised, and four Perpendicular windows inserted. There is a rude figure of St. Leonard over the chancel door. The church once contained numerous monuments, but many have been lost; the most interesting which remain are (1) two figures of priests in full canonicals,* now placed in the tower: (2) a canopied slab, with the incised figure of Ralph Reresby, + 1525, in plate armour: (3) on the N. wall of the chancel, a tomb to Lionel Reresby + 1559, with effigies of himself, wife and family; it was he who married the daughter of Swift, the Rotherham mercer (see p. 11): (4) a monument to Sir John Reresby, Governor of York, the greatest man of the family, who wrote memoirs of his own time and died in 1689. The Reresby family came originally from Reresby in Lincolnshire, and got the Thrybergh estates by inheritance in 1316. They held them till they were gambled away by the son of the Sir John Reresby above mentioned. There is some ancient glass collected from the old windows and re-arranged in the large belfry window; this window was inserted in 1871. In 1895 it was found necessary to take down the tower and spire, which were giving way, but they have been carefully rebuilt on

* Considered by Bloxam to be of the 14th century. Paper read to Yorkshire Architectural Society, 1849.

the old pattern, the old stones being preserved as far as possible, but some height and width added.* For the crosses at Thrybergh see p. 202, and fig. 96.

TICKHILL; St. Mary. This splendid church is one of the glories of the district, though it is now so much out of the way that it is not often visited. Tickhill however was once a very important place, for in the middle ages it was not only a great trading centre, but the seat of a royal castle.† Hunter has pointed out that some of the shields‡ sculptured outside the tower have merchants' devices, and shew that the present church was largely the work of merchants. The church was evidently completely renewed in the Perp. period, but the splendid fragment of Transition-Norman which remains in the lofty bay underneath the tower, and the magnificent arch opening into the nave, show that its soaring proportions belong to the design of the earlier epoch. Probably the S. and E. walls belong to the same period, for the buttresses are E. E. in character, and a single lancet window which still remains in the N. wall of the presbytery proves that the length of the church was quite as great in E. E. times as now. I have called the fragment under the tower Transition-Norman, because of the square abacus, but it evidently belongs to a time when the Transition had almost passed into E. E., and the W. doorway, and a portion of the W.

* See "A Sketch of the History of the Church of St. Leonard, Thrybergh," by the Rev. Canon Bennett, Rector of Thrybergh.

† See page 91.

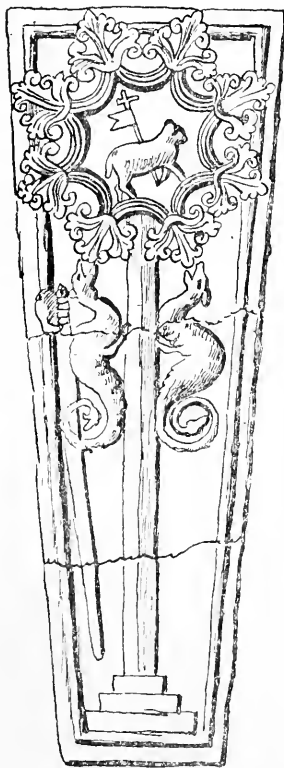
‡ Two, according to Bloem, "Heraldry of the West Riding Churches," Part III, p. 62.

front, easily distinguished by the pilasters at its angles, are full E. E. The Perp. E. window is of course an insertion, as are all the windows in the S. wall, which are evidently later Perp. than those of the N. wall. The N. chapel* is undoubtedly an addition of the Dec. period, and has two fine Dec. windows, one reticulated and one flamboyant. (Notice on the outside the striking difference between the buttresses of this chapel and those of the Perp. N. wall.) The rest of the church, including the arcades of the nave and the chancel arch, is early and very good Perp., in good preservation, owing to the fine Roche Abbey stone of which it is built. Hunter (who makes the extraordinary assertion that the church is all of one design) points out that the arms of Castille and Leon, which appear along with those of England outside the tower, date the time of its building between the years 1373 and 1399, being evidently placed there by John of Gaunt, who assumed the title of King of Castille and Leon during those years. Of course this only applies to the upper half of the tower. The groining of the tower vault has been begun in Perp. times, but never completed. The church had anciently four chantries, to the Blessed Trinity, to Our Lady, to St. Helen, and to the Holy Rood.† The first of these was probably the Dec. chapel to the N. of the chancel; the second was certainly the S. chapel, as an inscription remained in Dodsworth's time which stated

* Called the Laughton chapel, but it was not built by the Laughton but by the Eastfield family.

† The Chantry of St. Helen was founded in 1348; that of the Trinity was "newly built" in 1354; the dates of the others are not given. "Chantry Certificates," p. 183.

that it was built in honour of Our Lady. The two others were in the S. aisle of the nave, where the piscinæ still remain. There is a founder's tomb in the N. chapel, with a slab marked with an incised cross fleury. On the N.



104.—EARLY ENGLISH TOMB
SLAB FROM TICKHILL.

From Boutell's "Christian
Monuments."

side of the chancel altar is an altar tomb to William Eastfield, Seneschal of Holderness and the Honour of Tickhill, died 1386. On the S. of the altar is a slab of Roche Abbey stone with several figures carved on it, and an inscription to John Sandford, 1429. There is an old oak pulpit and three lecterns. A good deal of ancient stained glass remains in the S. aisle windows. At the W. end of the nave is a much mutilated altar tomb with two effigies, to William Fitzwilliam, died in 1478, and Elizabeth Clarel his wife, died 1531.* The arabesques show that it cannot be earlier than the 16th century. It was removed here from the Priory of Austin Friars.† There is also a very

* Hunter's "Doncaster," I, p. 220.

† See page 138.

large stone coffin, the lid sculptured with a remarkably fine cross fleury in very bold relief; probably of the 13th century (see fig. 104). The font is Perp., and there are two Perp. porches.

For Tickhill castle see p. 91; for St. Leonard's Hospital, p. 138.

TINSLEY; St. Lawrence; ancient church destroyed.

TODWICK; St. Peter and St. Paul. This is a small church of very rude architecture; the S. doorway has a perfectly plain round arch, and the chancel arch is of similar style. Some of the windows have been inserted in Dec. times, and the tower is a Perp. addition. There is a founder's tomb in an ogee niche in the nave, which has bold mouldings. The font is said to have come from Worksop Abbey. There is a very small brass in the floor, with the kneeling figure of Thomas Garland, 1609. Small as the church is, it had a chantry, that of Our Lady, founded in 1325.*

TREETON; St. Helen.† There was a Saxon church here, mentioned in Domesday, which has totally disappeared. Of the Norman church which succeeded it there are some vestiges left, in the plain soffit-ribbed arches of the N. aisle of the nave, which are of early character. The church

* I regret that ill health has prevented me from re-visiting this church, as I have only meagre notes of my first visit.

† I have been favoured with an historical account of the fabric of this church by the architect who restored it in 1893, Mr. Charles Hadfield, F.R.I.B.A., of Sheffield.

appears to have been rebuilt at the close of the 12th century; the S. doorway, the chancel arch and wall, and the lower two-thirds of the tower, are Transition-Norman. There was another great restoration of the church in the early Decorated period, when the chancel was built, and the S. arcade of the nave. (Notice the combination in the capitals of this arcade of the nail-headed moulding, generally peculiar to Norman or Early English, and the scroll-moulded astragal, one of the most characteristic signs of Decorated). Mr. Hadfield thinks that the two heads which are carved on the labels of the Decorated sedilia in the chancel, represent Richard of Tydolphside, who was Rector of Treeton in 1287, the period about which these additions to the church were probably made, and John Romanus, who was Archbishop of York at the same time, and who was the builder of the nave of York cathedral. Late in the 15th century the walls of the nave and chancel were raised, and a new roof put on, which is a good piece of Perp. work, with admirably carved bosses. At the same time the nave was extended westwards so as to be flush with the tower. It will be seen that the W. doorway, which is round, has Perp. mouldings. Early in the 16th century the Brampton chantry was added at the end of the S. aisle. The upper part of the tower is late Perp. There is an interesting piscina in the S. aisle, marking the site of another chantry. The chancel arch is unusually narrow, so that two squints have been needed, one of which is very elaborate.

WADSWORTH; St. Mary; anciently St. John the Evangelist. This has anciently been a Norman church, of the

same size as at present, for the Norman plinth may be traced all round the church, excepting the tower and chantry. There is some very rude masonry in the church, and it is continued above the aisles, showing that there was formerly a Norman clerestory; the join between the ancient work and the newer, which is Perp., is very marked. The buttresses seem to have been added in the Dec. period. The nave has round Norman pillars on the N. side, with fine Attic bases, carved capitals, and square abaci. The S. arcade is E. E. and has octagonal pillars. There is an arcade of six arches, of Transition-Norman character, on the S. wall, an unusual feature in a country church. At the W. end of the N. aisle is a small square-headed loop window, and at the end of the S. aisle a lancet. There are also two lancet windows belonging to the Transition-Norman church on each side the chancel. The N. doorway has a shoulder arch, with a round arch outside it. The present chancel arch was put up in 1872 when the church was restored. In the Dec. period the windows of the nave were all altered to that style, some square-headed, some pointed; and in the late Dec. time the interesting S. chantry was built. It has two nice windows on the S. side, one reticulated and one flamboyant; the E. window is one of the many curious experiments of the Dec. period, and is quite unique; a square is worked into the middle of a flamboyant pattern. This chantry has three sedilia and a piscina, and some very interesting monuments: (1) on the floor a very curious tombstone of the *semi-effigial* type (see p. 178 and the illustration, fig. 105); Bloxam calls this effigy a country gentleman



105.—

SEMI-EFFIGIAL EFFIGY AT
WADWORTH.

or Franklin of the 14th century in ordinary attire.* (2) The effigy of a forester, in his hooded tippet, with his hunting-horn at his belt; also of the 14th century. (3) Two well-preserved alabaster effigies of Edmund Fitzwilliam and his wife Maud, 1430; the knight is in plate armour, of the Lancastrian style, and the lady wears one of the puffed and netted head-dresses of the 15th century. (4) An altar tomb with black letter inscription, to another Edmund Fitzwilliam and his wife Katharine, 1465. At the E. end of the chancel is a large intersecting window. The tower was built in the early Perp. time, in very superior masonry to the rest of the church; it has diagonal buttresses, and a fine frieze of the early Perp. style; the arch into the nave is very lofty. The clerestory windows, and the two porches (N. and S.) are also Perp.

WALES; St. John. This was formerly a little primitive church, with a Norman doorway and chancel arch. It had evidently been overhauled in Perpendicular times, when

* Paper read to the Yorks. Architectural Society, 1849.

the tower had been added, and new windows inserted. The roof, which was dated 1550, and had some good carved bosses, was supported by timber posts carried up the wall from the ground. It is now (1896) being enlarged by the addition of what amounts to a new church, to which it will be a kind of N. aisle. The Norman S. doorway, which has a tympanum decorated with a chess-board pattern, is to be re-erected as the S. doorway of the new church.

WATH; All Saints. This extremely interesting church is almost entirely Norman, with an E. E. chapel added on the N. side, where it forms as it were one arm of a transept, and a S. aisle of the Dec. period. Even the tower is Norman in its three first stages; it is tall and slender and of very rude masonry; the upper storey and battlements, and the small spire, have been added in Dec. times. The pillars of the N. aisle are round, and extremely massive, the arches round, and square-edged, with a square-edged soffit-rib; the capitals are scalloped. They are therefore of pure Norman character, with no sign of Transition, though there is some indication of this in the pointed arch under the tower, and in the bases of its remarkably massive responds. There is a lancet window at the W. end of the S. aisle, and a round-arched light, set in a square head, at the W. end of the N. aisle. The clerestory and roof are Perp., and so is the E. window. There is an exquisite Dec. niche fixed in the N. wall of the nave. The chancel arch seems to have been altered in the Perp. period. The former rood-loft doorway may be traced. The two lancet windows in the chancel shew

that the ancient walls have been retained, in part at least; the Norman pillars, which separate the chancel from the chapel indicate that the chancel had a N. aisle before the erection of the E. E. chapel into which that aisle is expanded. This chapel, the Chantry of Our Lady, was founded by Roger de Pocklington in the reign of Edward I. It has E. E. windows, (restored) and a W. aisle, supported by a grouped pillar, which is decorated with a rose, and the nail-head moulding. An E. E. piscina has been cut out of one of the Norman pillars. The roof of the chantry is Perp. A row of heads still remaining on the S. wall of this chapel internally is evidently the former external corbel-table of the Norman church. There was another chantry, that of St. Nicholas, in the S. aisle of the church; founded 1530. The Dec. porch is vaulted with stone, resting on corbels, and there are remains of a beautifully carved niche over the doorway. The vestry window has two remarkable corbels, of a male and a female head, each being attacked by a lizard-like monster. There is a remarkable old vestment chest in the vestry, and two stone coffins in the churchyard.

WENTWORTH; Holy Trinity. The present church of Wentworth is modern, but the ruins of the ancient church remain, and its chancel is preserved whole for the sake of the Wentworth family monuments. There is a small mural monument of the 14th century on the right hand side of the door. The chief historical interest of the place is that it contains the tomb of the great Earl of Strafford, who was executed in 1641. His monument, however, with his kneeling figure, is but a poor one, and very much

inferior as a work of art to that of his grandfather Thomas Wentworth, who died in 1587. His effigy is a very fine one, and the face, though mutilated, still retains an expression of sturdy determination. There is an earlier altar-tomb with two alabaster figures (the lady has only her head left) where Hunter detected the Gascoigne arms; they are supposed to be the effigies of John and Isabel Gascoigne, date 1445. The male figure wears armour of the Lancastrian period. Another tomb, with kneeling figures, is to Sir William Wentworth, + 1614. The present Earl Fitzwilliam is descended in the female line from the Earl of Strafford.

In 1546, the church of Wentworth was repaired with pillars, arches, and stones brought from Bretton Priory.*

WHISTON; St. James; ancient church destroyed, but some fragments are preserved.

WHITWELL; St. Lawrence. One of the most delightful churches in the district. It is a cruciform church of the late Norman period, and though it underwent an extensive and very beautiful restoration in the Dec. era, yet a great part of the masonry of the transept appears to be ancient, and on the N. side of the chancel the Norman corbel-table which still remains, seems to shew that a great part of the walls at least, is of the same period as the body of the church. The tower is also Norman in its lower stages, though the upper storey is Dec. The arches of the aisles are round and wide, with square-edged ribs of two orders; the pillars all round, the capitals low and massive, with

* Hunter, "Deanery of Doncaster," II, 97.

round abaci, and bases inclining to the Transitional type. The chancel arch is round, with very rich mouldings, consisting of round, pointed, and grooved boutells, and a chamfer studded with large nail-heads at long intervals. It is supported on three keeled shafts, with scalloped caps, square abaci, and Transition bases. The tower arch is perfectly plain and square-edged, with only a chamfered impost. The S. doorway is also quite plain (the porch is Dec.); the W. door is late Norman. Even the clerestory windows are Norman, which is very unusual in a country church. The doorway and part of the steps to the rood-loft remain. The windows of the nave have been restored in modern times. The roof has been raised, but the old lower beams remain, probably of Perp. date, as is the roof of the chancel. The windows of the chancel and transepts are Dec., and the E. window is a fine example of the geometrical style, and has beautiful Dec. mouldings on the outside. There are two beautiful Dec. sedilia in the chancel, and a piscina of the same date; another in the S. transept. In the N. transept there is an extremely beautiful founder's tomb (or is it an Easter Sepulchre? no interment has been found in it) the canopy having excellent Dec. mouldings, supported by interesting corbel heads. In the S. transept is a barbarous marble tomb to Sir Roger Manners, 1632. There are two ancient tomb-slabs on the floor of the chancel. The vestry is of the same date as the Dec. restoration of the chancel, and has a very interesting Dec. window. A scroll-moulding was carried round the chancel and transepts externally when they were rebuilt in the Dec. period. The remains of a rude Norman font are preserved.

WICKERSLEY; St. Alban. Ancient church has been destroyed, and rebuilt in churchwarden Gothic in 1832; the only part spared being the tower, which is of early Perp. style.

WOMBWELL; St. Mary. I fear this church will have ceased to exist before these pages leave the press; so ruthless is modern England towards the records of her own past. Though the church is small and somewhat squalid in its present state, having been deformed by galleries and plaster ceilings, and though the walls and roof of the nave are modern, it has nevertheless a great deal of interest for the antiquarian. The tower is very early Norman; it is small in plan, has no buttresses, and its internal arch (which has given way somewhat) is plain and square-edged, with chamfered imposts to the jambs, shewing its early date; it may quite well be of the 11th century. The uppermost storey was added in the Dec. period. The Norman arcades of the aisles still remain; they are somewhat later in style, and the S. aisle probably later than the N. The N. columns have scalloped capitals, the S. a kind of flat leaf. The arches are round. The chancel arch is in the same style as the S. arcade, and the Norman base tablet which runs round the outer walls of the chancel shews that these walls are Norman, which is also declared by the two lancet lights on the S. side; though these are now pointed, it can easily be seen from outside that they once were round. The intersecting window at the E. end is of course a later insertion, probably put in at the time the chantry on the N. side was built, which has a similar window. This is the

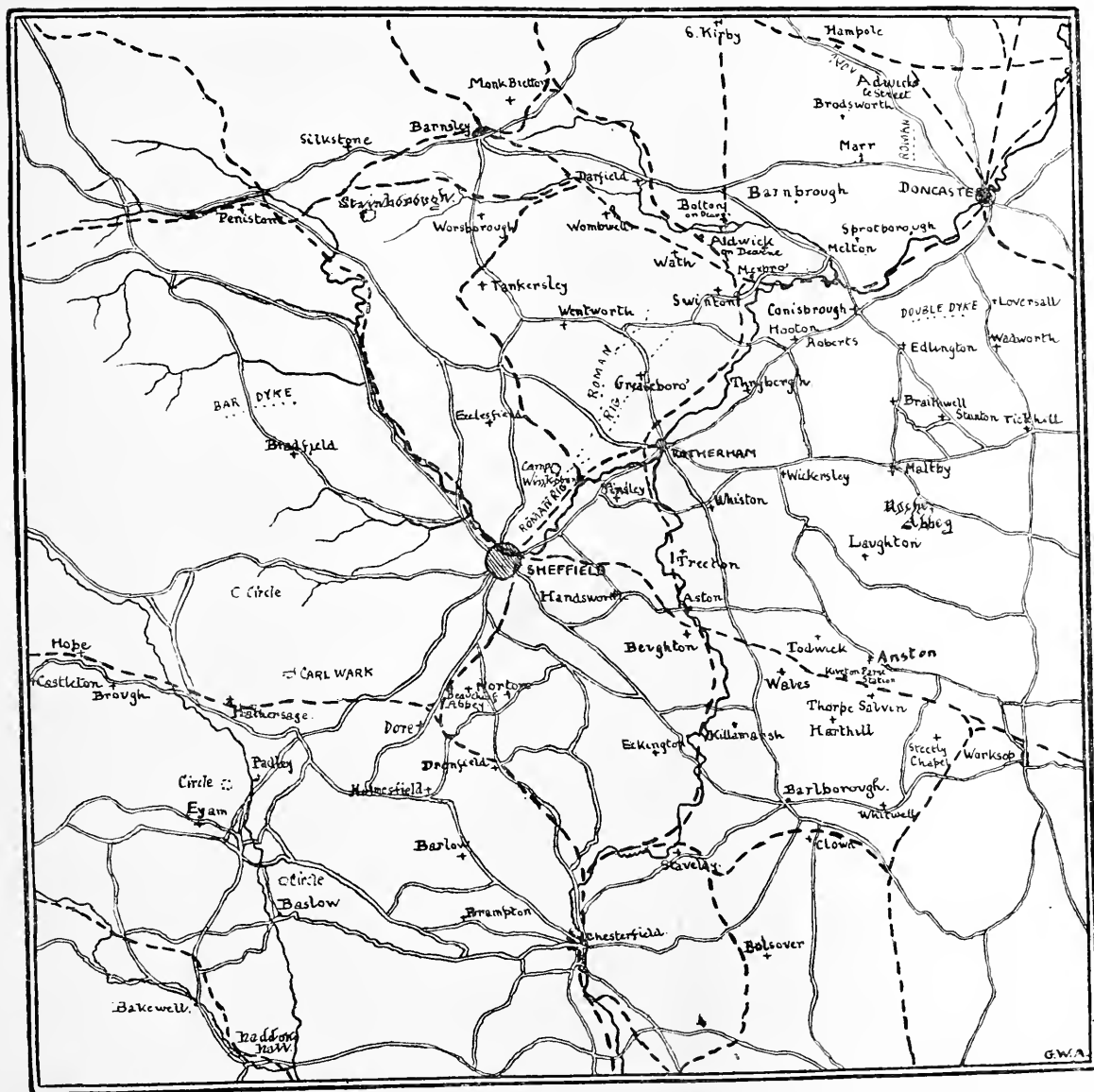
chantry of Our Lady of Pity, founded in 1507. The modern windows of the S. aisle appear to have been copied from this.

WORSBOROUGH; St. Mary. The responds of the chancel arch are undoubtedly Norman, and have some late Norman carving which is partly concealed by whitewash. The octagonal pillars of the aisles may be Norman too, but their bases are concealed under the flooring. This church sadly wants scraping; where the plaster has fallen away, the masonry appears very rude and ancient. The windows of the nave are all Perp. The chancel arch itself is Dec., and the aisles are carried forward into chapels; these are the chantry of St. Helen founded in 1409, and of Our Lady in 1470. There is a Norman window in the N. wall of the presbytery. The E. window is late Dec. There are vestiges of an old screen, restored; and there is a most remarkable monument to Roger Rockley, early in 16th century. It is a sort of bedstead with two berths, of carved oak; in the upper berth lies the figure of Roger, in plate armour, of wood covered with linen and painted. The paint is so fresh that it looks recent. In the lower berth his skeleton is portrayed. There is also an altar tomb of freestone which has borne the brass of a knight, Thomas Rockley + 1517. The porch is Perp. with an interesting carved roof of black oak; an old carved Perp. door opens out of this porch. In the porch is preserved part of a Norman stone with the very common subject of a centaur shooting with a bow (said to be the badge of Stephen). The tower is Dec. and has a small spire.

WORTLEY; St. Leonard; ancient church destroyed in 1815.

This list of churches concludes my task; but there is one relic of antiquity near Rotherham so unique that it does not fall under any of the heads which I have already treated of. I mean the Norman barn on the road from Kimberworth to Thorpe Hesley, not far from Scholes. It was probably a grange belonging to the monks of Kirkstead Abbey in Lincolnshire, who (as I mentioned in the first chapter) held lands and worked bloomeries in this neighbourhood. It has two Norman doorways and several Norman windows, besides two windows of the 13th century. Part of it has been converted into cottages, and the whole is in a most dilapidated condition. It is deplorable that no steps should be taken to preserve a building of such great antiquity, and of so rare a type, from utter ruin.

SKELETON MAP OF THE SHEFFIELD AND ROTHERHAM DISTRICT.



Scale of Miles 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8



APPENDIX.

NOTE A, page 2.—THE BOUNDARIES OF ELMETE.

I do not think it has been noticed hitherto that the name *Kirby-in-Elmete* is given to South Kirby in a deed of 1361, cited by Dodsworth. See Dodsworth's Notes, printed in the "Yorkshire Archæological Journal" for 1894, p. 113. This name carries the kingdom of Elmete further southward than had been proved before. Mr. Green indeed says that it extended to the fastnesses of the Peak, and answered roughly to the present West Riding of Yorkshire. ("Making of England," p. 264.) But he gives no authority for this statement.

NOTE B, page 7.—ROBIN HOOD.

I fear that Robin Hood has only a precarious claim to a historical existence, since there is no contemporary mention of him in English history. His legend is so widely diffused, and the spots which are called after him are found in such distant places in England, that he is probably a figure from Northern mythology to whom the deeds of prowess of outlaws in different parts of Britain have been assigned. See "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. XXVII, art. Hood.

NOTE C, page 12.—THE ROTHERHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

I do not attempt to unravel the tangled skein of connection between the present Rotherham Grammar School and the foundation of Archbishop Thomas. It appears from the "Chantry Certificates" that the first violation of the Archbishop's bequest was in the 36th year of Henry VIII, when one Hugh Wirhall of Doncaster entered upon certain lands and tenements in Greasborough, and converted them to his own use. From the pedigree given in "Yorks. Arch. Journal," 1890, p. 75, it appears that the daughter of this Hugh Wirhall or Wyrall married the son of Robert Swift. There seems to be some doubt whether the archbishop's college was entirely suppressed, for as early as 1561 £10 15s. 4d. was paid "out of the profits of the county"

to the masters employed in a grammar-school at Rotherham. In 1584 certain lands and a building were conveyed to trustees for the purpose of establishing a grammar-school, as well as for the payment of common charges, and for the relief of the poor. Hunter, "*Deanery of Doncaster*," II, 12. Very valuable documents exist in the possession of the Feoffees, from which much interesting information could be gathered about the history of the common lands of Rotherham.

It should be remembered that owing to the uncertainty felt in Edward's reign as to whether the Reformation had come to stay, or whether there would be a re-establishment of Romanism under the next sovereign, the title to church property was very insecure, and it consequently was sold extremely cheaply.

NOTE D, page 14.—BESS OF HARDWICK.

In a letter to Lord Burleigh, the Earl of Shrewsbury speaks of Bess as "his wyked and malysious wife," and of the whole brood of Cavendishes as "her imps." "*History of Chesterfield*," p. 434. The Earl was her fourth husband; each of her previous marriages had raised her a step upward in the world. Her third husband was Sir William Cavendish, from whom the present Dukes of Devonshire are descended. Her portrait is given in Mr. Leader's "*Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity*." Her tomb is in the church of All Saints, Derby. Fuller calls her "that discreet and beautiful woman."

NOTE E, page 17.—SITES OF TUMULI.

It has been said that the reason the remains of early races are chiefly found on moorlands and mountains is that the lower parts of Britain were covered with forest, which men with stone axes could hardly clear, and therefore they could only live in the districts cleared by nature. But old county histories tell us often of barrows which once existed in lower situations on cultivable land; tumuli also are frequently found in parks, at the level of the cultivated land; circumstances which lead me to adopt the conjecture in the text. At the same time we can hardly doubt from the position of so many barrows that a commanding situation was preferred for burial.

NOTE F, page 23.—INHUMATION AND CREMATION.

It is sometimes stated that inhumation was the custom in the Stone Age, and that cremation was introduced by the Bronze-using people.

But it has been proved, especially by the researches of Canon Greenwell, that inhumation and cremation were practised by both peoples, and cases of both are to be found in the same barrow, which have apparently been placed there on the same day. There is nothing surprising in this, seeing that among the Greeks and Romans inhumation and cremation were both practised at the same time. Canon Greenwell has remarked that in the Yorkshire barrows "charcoal, in greater or less quantities, in contact with the body, is rarely wanting"; and he thinks that bodies were sometimes merely passed through the fire; so that cremation of some kind was perhaps universal. "British Barrows," p. 28.

NOTE G, page 28.—PREHISTORIC RACES.

It is one of the greatest discoveries of the 19th century that man existed on earth as far back as what geologists call the quaternary period. Before the close of the great ice age, when Europe had a climate like that of Labrador, and when Britain was still joined to the continent, the *Palæolithic* or Old Stone Man was the contemporary of the mammoth and the cave lion. He was a wandering hunter, dressed in skins, ignorant of metals and agriculture, and using implements of bone or of rudely chipped stone. The few specimens of his head which have been preserved are dolicocephalic. His implements, which are of quite a different type to those of the neolithic period, have been found in the alluvium of ancient river beds, and hence he has received the name of the *River Drift Man*. His bones have not been found in any part of England. It is doubtful whether he is of the same or different race to the *Cave Man*, or later Palæolithic, who was also dolicocephalic. He was in the same state of civilization as his predecessor, but he had a great superiority over his predecessor in his instinct for art. He has left us spirited sketches of the animals he saw around him, scratched on pieces of bone, horn, or stone. They have been found as far north as Cresswell Caves in Derbyshire. He was of Herculean frame and powerful face, and therefore can scarcely have been the progenitor of the man of the long barrows, who was his successor. Some geological catastrophe, which separated Great Britain from the continent, marks the disappearance of the Cave man, and the advent of the *Neolithic* or New Stone man. He had taken the great step which separates the hunter from the tiller of the land; he was a farmer and a shepherd, he understood spinning, weaving, boat-building, and pottery making, though he did not use the potter's

wheel. His stature was small (about 5 ft. 5 in.) his head long, his face oval and probably pleasing and mild in appearance, as far as can be told by his skull, though the receding chin must have given an expression of feebleness to the face. He once inhabited the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. In these countries he appears to have been the only constructor of chambered burial mounds; but in France these chambered barrows, which are both long and round, contain both long and round skulls; while in Scandinavia the chambered barrows contain only round skulls. So that the uniformity of custom was not an accompaniment of uniformity of race. In the Swiss lake-dwellings the skulls of both the stone and bronze periods are dolicocephalic. But in Great Britain and Gaul, the Neolithic man appears to have been followed by the Brachycephalic man, the big brawny conqueror, whom one school of anthropologists believes to have been the representative of the original Aryans. See Greenwell, "British Barrows"; Cartailhac, "La France Préhistorique"; Boyd Dawkins, "Cave-Hunting," and "Early Man in Britain"; Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times"; Tyler's "Primitive Civilization"; Schrader's "Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples." For an interesting summary of the most recent discussion of the question, somewhat rashly written, see Canon Taylor's "Origin of the Aryans."

NOTE H, page 31.—DOLMENS AND BARROWS.

Some antiquaries have supposed that these dolmens were all formerly covered by barrows. Others state that they are often found in situations where there could be no reason for removing the soil; and to level a barrow is a very troublesome piece of work. It is more reasonable to believe that there were changes of fashion in primeval ages, just as there are with us now.

NOTE I, page 31.—DEVELOPMENT OF STONE CIRCLES.

Dr. Joseph Anderson, the eminent Rhind lecturer, ingeniously conjectures that the stone circles were developed out of the hedge or setting of stone which frequently surrounds the base of a barrow. (Canon Greenwell has sometimes found these walls in the interior of barrows, and has conjectured that they were meant to keep the ghost in.) Gradually more attention was paid to this wall than to the cairn itself, which diminished till it became only a little heap in the middle of an important stone circle. ("Scotland in Pagan Times," 122.)

Some circles are certainly found with small cairns in the centre; in the last century "a small heap of stones" was to be seen in the centre of the circle near Eyam. Numbers of circles with dolmens in the middle may be seen in Ireland.

NOTE J, page 31.—RUDE STONE MONUMENTS.

These rude stone monuments are scattered over many parts of Western and North-western Europe, and are also to be found in North Africa, Syria, and India. That they are specially the work of the Keltic race is disproved by the fact that they are found in districts which were never inhabited by the Kelts. On the other hand, *if* they really belong to the Bronze Age, and *if* the Bronze roundheads were really Kelts, then it was the Kelts who built these monuments in Britain. And as the Druidical worship was developed in Britain (Cæsar says "*disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata*," Bell. Gall. VI. 13.) it becomes impossible to deny that there *may* have been connection between the stone circles and Druidical worship, though there is no mention of these circles in any of the passages about the Druids in classical writers. But though burials of the Bronze Age have been found in connection with stone circles, it is not yet proved that these circles belong to the Bronze Age only. Many competent antiquarians put them down to the Stone Age. What complicates the question is that the foreign evidence is not the same as the English. French authorities generally regard the rude stone monuments as belonging to the Neolithic age, and Conder states that the dolmens of Guernsey are ossuaries, like the long barrows, and contain only long-headed skulls. M. Mortillet however denies that the cromlechs and dolmens have any ethnic correlation; M. Cartailhac states that very various types of skulls have been found in them, and thinks the data are still insufficient for any positive conclusion about them. ("*La France Préhistorique*," 200.) But whatever the race that built them, he is clear that the dolmens and chambered barrows were the ossuaries of the Neolithic age. (Ib. p. 313.) In Scandinavia on the other hand, stone circles are found associated with burials of the Iron Age. (Anderson, "*Scotland in Pagan Times*," 124.)

Professor Sayce says: "Prehistoric archaeology is still young, and those who have studied it the most deeply are the first to admit the provisional character of many of its conclusions. In several points, the results arrived at by British and continental anthropologists are in direct antagonism to one another; and the exact relation of the people

of our round barrows to the brachycephalic race, or races, of the continent, is still an open question." Academy Aug. 30, 1890.

In a very interesting paper on "Megalithic Monuments," in the "Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society," Mr. Evans has put forth the theory that the dolmens were the places of temporary burial in the Stone Age, from which the bones were removed to the Long barrows after the flesh had decayed. The Khasis of India, who still build dolmens, burn their friends, and place the bones under a small dolmen; after lying there a year, they are removed to the family ossuary. Vol. III. 1885.

NOTE K, page 50.—ORIGIN OF THE WORD ICKLES.

In matters of etymology, "fools rush in where angels fear to tread," and being desirous to be found on the side of the angels, I have not inserted in this book any etymological guesses of my own without seeking the sanction of those learned in the science. Through the kindness of Professor Toller I have obtained the following words from Professor Meyer, of Liverpool, on the word Ickles or Eceles: "Eceles in English and Scotch place-names (it sometimes appears as Eagles, by popular etymology) is no doubt the Latin *ecclēsia*, from which the modern Welsh *eglwys* is derived, as well as modern Irish *eaglais*. Wherever Eceles is found, it must go back to Keltic—Irish or Welsh—Christianity, as the Kelts alone used the word for church. Of course it would be wrong to say that *Eceles* was derived from the Welsh *eglwys*. It represents an older form, much nearer the Latin."

NOTE L, page 54.—NORMAN EARTHWORKS.

In an Anglo-Norman poem on the Conquest of Ireland, we find the Normans throwing up *mottes* for the defence of their conquests. *Motte* is still the Norman word for earthworks of the type described in the text. See "Edinburgh Review," July 1891, article on English Castles. These mottes were not the same things as the *raths* so common in Ireland, which are circular ditched enclosures without a conical mound attached.

I may add that I have searched all the illustrated Anglo-Saxon MS. in the British Museum, to find an Anglo-Saxon picture of a *burh* or fortress, and have invariably found a picture of a stone castle, never of an earthwork. Mr. Hudson Turner, in his "History of Domestic Architecture," says "Whatever amount of difficulty may attend our inquiry respecting the domestic buildings of the Saxons, the character

of their military edifices is involved in far greater obscurity. If reliance is to be placed on the drawings attributed to Saxon times, a hall and other buildings surrounded by a high embattled wall appear to have been the usual mode of fortification," p. XVIII. On the whole, he concludes that Saxon fortifications were confined to the enclosure of an advantageous site either by a wall or by earthworks.

NOTE M, page 55.—THE WORDS CASTLE AND BAILEY.

Professor Toller kindly writes to me: "*Bailey* does not occur as an English word before the Norman Conquest. The earliest instance of its occurrence given in Murray's Dictionary is in the *Cursor Mundi* (circa 1309). *Castle* is used earlier, for example in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels; but when it occurs it means a village or town; it gets the meaning of castle only after Norman influence has been at work; for example in the A. S. Chronicle, 1048. A *geweorc* was rather more the English notion of a fortification."

NOTE N, page 63.—DATES OF ARCHITECTURAL STYLES.

Mr. Edmund Sharpe proposed another division, as follows:

Norman	1060	..	1145
Transition	1145	..	1190
Lancet	1190	..	1245
Geometric	1245	..	1315
Curvilinear	1315	..	1360
Rectilinear	1360	..	1550

In this arrangement, the windows are made the chief criterion of the style. ("Treatise of the Rise and Progress of Decorated Window Tracery in England.") The dates given in the text are those proposed by Parker ("Introduction to Gothic Architecture") and they appear to be generally accepted. But the student will find that several writers class the Transition-Norman under the head of Early English (for example Canon Cox, in his "Notes on Derbyshire Churches") and others use the terms First, Second, and Third pointed, for Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular.

NOTE O, page 66.—LINCOLN MINSTER.

In the front of Lincoln Minster we can distinguish at a glance the early Norman work of Bishop Remigius, (1074—1092) with its square-edged arches and rude stone masonry, from the late Norman work of

Bishop Alexander, who inserted the rich late Norman doorways, and built the three lower stories of the Western towers. Lincoln is easily visited from Rotherham or Sheffield; its Minster is a glorious example of Early English and early Decorated, and it has even some Anglo-Saxon architecture to shew, in the towers of two of its churches, St. Peter-at-Goyts and St. Mary-le-Wigford. Of the Roman remains at Lincoln I have already spoken, p. 51.

NOTE P, page 91.—ROGER DE BUSLI'S FOUNDATION AT BLYTHE.

Roger de Busli and Muriel his wife gave to the monks of Blythe the church and the whole town of Blythe, and two parts of the hall tithe of Laughton, that they might pray "for the stability of William king of the English, and for the health of the soul of Queen Matilda, and also for the health of their own souls."

NOTE Q, page 100.—THE LIVING-ROOMS IN THE KEEP OF
CONISBOROUGH.

Mr. G. T. Clark has supposed that the apartments in the Keep of Conisborough were never intended for the accommodation of the lord and lady except in time of siege, on account of their smallness and discomfort. But a study of the evolution of the domestic house shews us for how long a period our ancestors were satisfied with what we should call most uncomfortable quarters; so that there is no reason to think that the Normans of the 12th century went to the expense of constructing two sets of apartments, one for peace and another for war. See Turner, "History of Domestic Architecture," Vol. I, Introduction and Chapter I.

NOTE R, page 125.—THE FASCINATION OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

"Le moyen âge. . . triste enfant, arraché des entrailles même du christianisme, qui naquit dans les larmes, qui grandit dans la prière et la rêverie, dans les angoisses du cœur, qui mourut sans achever rien; mais il nous a laissé de lui un si poignant souvenir, que toutes les joies, toutes les grandeurs des âges modernes ne suffiront pas à nous consoler." Michelet, "Histoire de France," II. 107.

NOTE S, page 130.—THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FRIARS.

I have not time in this brief sketch to speak of the importance of the Friars in the history of philosophy and science, but would refer

the reader to Brewer's Preface to the "Monumenta Franciscana," and to Ronsselot's "Philosophie au Moyen Age." The new and wonderful loveliness which crept over architecture in the course of the 13th century was contemporaneous with the spread of the Franciscan order. The relation of the spirit and teaching of St. Francis to the new birth of art has been worked out by Thode, "Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance." The rebuilding of so many of our parish churches in the Decorated period was probably largely due to the religious stimulus given by the preaching of the Friars.

M. Paul Sabatier, in his beautiful "Vie de St. François," has pointed out that St. Francis' original plan of his Order was far more Christian and less ecclesiastical than the shape which it afterwards took under influences from the court of Rome.

NOTE T, page 140.—THE CANONICAL RULE.

The first Canonical Rule was that of Chrodegang Bishop of Metz, about 760. Two bishops of Chartres in the 11th century introduced the Rule called by the name of Augustine, the chief characteristic of which was community of property among the clergy. Those who did not accept this community of goods were henceforth called *secular* canons, whilst those who did were called *regular* canons. There was great jealousy between them, but still greater was the jealousy and hatred between canons and monks. The Augustinian or Austin canons were first brought into England by Adelwald, confessor to Henry I, who founded Nostel Priory in Yorkshire. The order received so much favour that in the reign of Edward I it had 53 priories in England. See Hatch, "Growth of Christian Institutions," chapters IX and X; and Mosheim's "Ecc. History," II. 241, 310, and 538.

NOTE U, page 151.—THE LAY BRETHREN.

The Lay brethren were not properly monks, but laymen who had offered themselves and their work, for life, to the service of the monastery. They did the work of servants and labourers. Now as all the monastic rules ordain that the monks shall work regularly in the fields, and take turns in the various branches of domestic service, we naturally ask, how comes it that lay brethren are doing the work? There can be little doubt that in the admission of these lay brethren we have one of the symptoms and causes of monastic decay. In fact, Heloisa, writing in the 12th century says: "It used to be one of the

rules of monasticism that monks should live by their own labour and the cultivation of their lands; but because our weakness will not allow us to do it, we receive lay brethren and sisters, to do the work which the strictness of our rule does not allow us to accomplish." (Ducange, *Conversi*.) This passage seems to shew that the monk was on the horns of a dilemma; if he kept his ascetic rule strictly, he became too weak to work; if he gave the work over to others, he gave up what was most vital in monasticism.

NOTE V, page 152.—TOMBS IN ROCHE ABBEY.

The tomb slab in the middle of the nave, bearing an incised cross, apparently of the 15th century, has this inscription:

"Here lygges Peryn of Donecastre,
And Isabel hys wyfe
A gude tru brother
While he was on lyfe
Jesu by thy mercy
Bring them to blysse
Pater noster for them
Whoso readis thys."

About two yards to the north-west of this slab are two others, lying side by side; one appears to have formerly had a brass. The inscription on one is: "Hic jacet — Rylston, generosus hujus monasterii benefactor, qui obiit IX die Augusti, anno domini MCCCCXCVII. Cujus animo propitiatur Deus. Amen." (Here lies — Rylston, gentleman, a benefactor of this monastery, who died on the 9th of August, A.D. 1497. On whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.) On the other: "Orate pro aia (anima) Thome Rilston, generosi qui hic sepult (us) obiit die penultimo Januarii, anno. dom. MCCCCLXXXIV. Anime propitiatur Deus. Amen." (Pray for the soul of Thomas Rilston gentleman who is here buried. Died January 30, 1484. May God have mercy on his soul. Amen.) To the west of this is a slab upon which is engraved a sword and a cross, apparently of more ancient date. From the "*Rotherham Advertiser*," Sept. 8, 1888.

NOTE W, page 155.—THE POSITION OF THE HOSPITIUM.

The place of the Guest Hall or Hospitium was various according to circumstances. At Durham it was on the W. side of the cloister, and is thus described in the "*Rites of Durham*," an ancient work edited recently by the Surtees Society: "There was a famouse house of

hospitallitie, called the Geste halle, within the Abbey Garth of Durham, on the west syde, towards the water, the Terror of the house being master thereof, as one appoynted to geve intertaynment to all staitis, both noble, gentle, and what degree soever that came thither as strangers, ther intertaynment not being inferior to any place in England, both for the goodness of ther diett, the sweete and daintie furneture of ther lodgings, and generally all things necessarie for travailliers. This haule is a goodly brave place, much like unto the body of a church, with very faire pillers supporting it on ether syde, and in the mydest of the haule a most large ranuge for fyer. The chambers and lodgings belonging to yt weare swetly keepte, and so richly furnyshed that they weare not unpleasant to ly in, especially one chamber called the Kyng's Chamber, deservinge that name, in that the kyng himself myght verie well have lyue in yt for the princelynes thereof."

With regard to the hospitality exercised in monasteries, M. Jussérand states that only the very rich or the very poor lodged in monasteries, the middle class going to inns. The privilege being much abused by the nobles, Edward I forbade any one to lodge in a religious house, unless he were the founder; but he was careful to provide "that the grace of hospitality should not be withdrawn from the needy." (Statutes of the Realm, Ed. I.) But the abuse went on. "*La Vie Nomade et les Routes d' Angleterre au Quatorzième Siècle.*"

NOTE X, page 175.—THE SHAPE OF FONTS.

The square or trough-shaped form appears to have contained an allusion to the Christian's burial with Christ in baptism. The octagonal form, according to an explanation given as early as the 4th century, displayed the mystical number 8, because the eighth day was the day of our Lord's resurrection, and thus typified the new life of the Christian! (Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," article Font.) Another ancient explanation is that "as the old creation was complete in seven days, so the number next ensuing may well be significative of the new." Neale, "The Symbolism of Churches," p. LXXXII.

NOTE Y, page 195.—KNOTWORK PATTERNS.

The facts about the history of the knotwork patterns are these: They are found on Assyrian and Phœnician monuments (Orsi, "Di

due Crocette Auree del Museo di Bologna") and on a Hittite seal, though in a very elementary form (figured in a pamphlet by Dr. Colley March called "The Origin of Ornament.") They occur on the early churches of Syria, (see plates in De Vogüés "Syrie Centrale") and in Coptic and Abyssinian early Christian work, though not in the decorations of pagan Egypt. From Syria they spread to Byzantium. De Dartein ("Etude sur l'Architecture Lombarde et les origines de l'Art Byzantin") thinks that Syria was a great meeting point of many influences, and that an "art des mélanges" was thus developed there. This Syro-Byzantine art came into Western Europe in the time of Justinian, that is, in the 6th century, and brought with it these interlacing patterns, which were also carried into Northern Europe by the trade routes up the Danube valley, and which seem to have specially commended themselves to the Teutonic and Keltic nations, as they were developed in special styles by the Lombards, Burgundians, Franks and other German tribes, Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, Scots, and Irish. From the 7th to the 12th century knotwork patterns were one of the chief forms of decorative art throughout the whole of Europe. In Italy the 8th century was their palmy time. The question in dispute as to Great Britain is whether the Irish missionaries taught them to the Anglo-Saxons, or the Anglo-Saxons to the Irish. This question turns on the age of the Irish MSS. Mr. Romilly Allen says that the oldest Irish MS. with this interlacing ornamentation is the "Book of Dimma," circa 621. (Journal of British Archaeological Association, XL, 172.) But Dr. Anderson, who is a stout supporter of the Keltic origin of these patterns in England, does not attribute any greater age than the 9th century to the "Book of Kells," which he appears to regard as the earliest authentic Irish MS. with this decoration, while he makes no question that the Lindisfarne Gospels, which were written in Lindisfarne by Anglian scribes, date between 698 and 721. ("Scotland in Early Christian Times." Second Series.) About the stone crosses there is no dispute that those of Ireland which bear knotwork decoration are not older than the 9th century; but the pro-Keltic antiquarians maintain that the beautiful stones of North-west Scotland, which have far more elaborate patterns than any others, are the oldest in this island, and that the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, hitherto believed to be of the 7th century, are only of the 11th. The theory of the pro-Keltic antiquarians is that the knotwork patterns came to Ireland from Syria through Lérins, St. Patrick having himself spent some time in the monastery of Lérins;

the Irish specially developed these patterns, beyond any other nation; they introduced them into Scotland through their great mission-station at Iona, and from Scotland Scoto-Irish missionaries brought them into England. Bishop Browne on the other hand believes that these patterns were brought by the Goths to the Baltic, where the Scandinavians and Anglians learned them, and developed them into two different schools of ornament. The Anglians brought their own type of knotwork to Britain; and it is undoubtedly found on ornaments buried in Anglo-Saxon pagan graves. As a fashion in stone-work, he thinks that Bishops Benedict and Wilfrid, who had been to Rome and must have seen it there, introduced it into the Northumbrian churches, where it was developed further by the combined skill of English and Irish monks. ("Proceedings of Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1887.") It should be noticed that although these knotwork patterns are far more common in Northumbria and Mercia than in any other parts of England, they are found in scattered instances over the whole country. Dr. Anderson believes that crosses which have scroll-work decoration are later than those which have interlacing patterns only. I cannot see why this should be, seeing that the scroll-work patterns are as ancient as the others in Byzantine art, from which all admit that the Irish art is directly or indirectly derived. Professor Viëtor of Marburg, in a recent work on the Northumbrian crosses, decides from etymological reasons that the Bewcastle cross is of the latter half of the seventh century. "*Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*," von Wilhelm Viëtor. p. 46. See also Westwood's "*Palaographia Sacra*."

Since the above was written, Bishop Browne's little book on the "Conversion of the Heptarchy" has been published, and I would refer the reader to it for a fuller discussion of this question.

NOTE Z, page 210.—THE WASHINGTON FAMILY.

Hunter states that there was no connection between the Washington family of Adwick-le-Street and the celebrated George Washington, and that the American Washington family came originally from Northumberland. A pamphlet privately printed by Major Newsome in 1879 shows that the pedigree of George Washington does not go further back than his great-grandfather, who emigrated to Virginia in the days of the Commonwealth, while family tradition only asserts that the Washingtons came from the North of England; it follows that Adwick has as good a claim as any other place to be the original seat

of the family. It is curious that Major Newsome does not notice the stars and stripes on the Washington coat of arms at Adwick, which is one of the most remarkable points of the story. Baneroft says that "On the 1st of March, 1776, the tricoloured American banner, *not yet spangled with stars*, but shewing 13 stripes of alternate red and white in the field, and the united red and white crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue ground in the corner, was unfurled over the new continental army round Boston." ("History of the United States," VIII. p. 232.) So that the American flag has apparently no connection with the family arms of George Washington. But if it is a mere coincidence that the stars and stripes were the arms of an English family of Washingtons in Elizabeth's reign, it is one of the most singular coincidences in history. It will be observed (see fig. 97) that the stars and stripes are larger and fewer than those of the American flag. Perhaps someone more learned than I am in pedigrees and heraldry can throw light on this question.

GLOSSARY OF ARCHITECTURAL TERMS.

ABACUS: the uppermost member of a capital. Fig. 19.

ANKERHOLD: a hermit's cell.

APSE: the round or polygonal end of a chancel.

ARCHITRAVE: the moulded portions round the openings of doors and windows.

ASHLAR: hewn stone.

ASTRAGAL: the moulding at the base of a capital or cornice.

AWNRY or ALMERY: a cupboard for containing the sacred vessels.

BAILEY: the court or ward of a castle.

BALL-FLOWER MOULDING: fig. 50, p. 72.

BALUSTER: a shaft resembling a turned wooden pillar. Fig. 27.

BARBICAN: an advanced work before a castle gate.

BASE-TABLET: the moulding at the base of a wall.

BATTER: the slope of a wall which is not vertical.

BAY: the compartment of a church formed by the pillars or the ribs of the vaulting.

BEAK-HEAD MOULDING: fig. 26, p. 62.

BILLET-MOULDING: fig. 24, p. 62.

BOWTELL (or BOLTELL): a round moulding; also applied to shafts.

BROACH SPIRE: a spire which has no parapet.

CAMPANILE: a bell-tower.

CAVETTO: a hollow moulding a quarter of a circle in depth, used in classical and Perp. architecture.

CHAMFER: to cut off angles.

CHEMIN-DE-RONDE: a path round the base of a fortification.

CHEVRON: a zig-zag moulding. Fig. 25, p. 62.

CLERESTORY: the storey without a floor in the upper part of a church.

CORBEL: a projecting stone supporting a weight.

CORBEL-TABLE: a row of corbels.

COVED CORNICE: a cornice which forms a half-arch underneath.

CREDENCE: a small table or shelf near an altar.

CROSS-PATONCE: a cross with arms terminating in three straight leaves.

CROSS-FLEURY: a cross with arms terminating in three curved leaves.

CROCKET: a bunch of foliage decorating pinnacles, arches, &c.

CURVE-AND-SLANT MOULDING: see fig. 44, p. 72.

CUSHION CAPITAL: see fig. 18, p. 62.

CUSP: the foliated projection inside an arch.

DEC.—DECORATED: see p. 74.

DOG-TOOTH MOULDING: see fig. 32, p. 68.

DRIPSTONE: the uppermost moulding over an arch, and above the actual arch-mouldings.

E.E.—EARLY ENGLISH: see p. 67.

ENTABLATURE: the horizontal parts of the wall above a column, in classical architecture.

FAN-VAULTING: vaulting with a number of ribs, all having the same curve.

FILLET: a small flat band on the face or side of a moulding.

FINIAL: a foliated ornament ending a pinnacle or gable.

FLAMBOYANT: a name given to late Decorated window-tracery which has flame-like wavings.

GARGOYLE: a projecting spout, often carved in a grotesque form.

GROIN: the angle at the intersection of vaults.

HAGIOSCOPE: see Squint.

HAMMER-BEAM: a projecting beam forming the main support of one kind of wooden roof.

HERRING BONE WORK: masonry arranged on a fish-bone pattern. Fig. 27, p. 64.

IMPOST: the horizontal moulding on the top of a pilaster.

JAMB: the side of a window or door.

KING-POST ROOF: a roof supported by a pillar or pillars rising from the tie-beam.

MISERERE: a folding seat with a small bracket on which infirm monks were allowed to lean during the standing portions of services.

NAIL-HEAD MOULDING: see fig. 29, p. 68.

NEWELL: the column round which a spiral staircase winds.

OGEE: a moulding formed by a round and a hollow combined, see fig. 49, p. 72; also applied to an arch which has a similar outline. Fig. 52, p. 73.

ORDERS: the recesses of an arch which is divided.

OVOLO: a flattened round moulding.

PARCLOSE: the screen of a chapel or tomb.

PARVISE: a small room over a porch.

PEBBLE-DASH: small pebbles embedded in whitewash.

PERP.—PERPENDICULAR: see p. 75.

PILASTER: a column attached to a wall.

- PISCINA**: a basin attached to the wall, where the priest washed his hands and rinsed the chalice.
- PLATE-TRACERY**: see fig. 38, p. 69.
- PLINTH**: the lowest base of a column or wall.
- PRESEBYTERY**: the part of a church where the high altar stands.
- QUIRK**: a sharp groove in mouldings.
- QUOIN**: the outer angle of a wall; applied also to the stones facing those angles.
- REREDOS**: a screen at the back of an altar.
- RESPOND**: a half-pillar attached to a wall.
- ROOD-LOFT**: a gallery on top of the screen between the nave and chancel, on which the great cross or *Rood* was fixed.
- SANCTUS-BELL**: see page 165.
- SCALLOPED CAPITALS**: see fig. 19, p. 62.
- SCROLL-MOULDING**: see fig. 43, p. 72.
- SEDILIA**: the seats for the officiating clergy.
- SEGMENTAL ARCH**: an arch forming a segment of a circle.
- SET-OFF**: the sloping angle of a buttress.
- SHOULDER-ARCH**: a round arch with a square top.
- SOFFIT**: the under side of an arch.
- SOFFIT-RIB**: see fig. 27B, p. 65.
- SPANDRIL**: the triangular spaces between arches.
- SPLAY**: a chamfer on a large scale, used in the openings of doorways and windows.
- SQUINT**: an oblique hole through a wall. See page 173.
- STILTED ARCH**: an arch which springs from a point above the impost mouldings.
- STOUP**: a basin.
- STRING-COURSE**: a horizontal moulding running along a wall.
- SUNK-CHAMFER MOULDING**: fig. 46, p. 72.
- SUNK-QUARTER-ROUND MOULDING**: fig. 45, p. 72.
- TIE-BEAM ROOF**: a roof with beams straight across.
- TRANSOM**: a horizontal cross-bar in a window.
- TRIFORIUM**: a gallery; applied to the gallery between the roof and vaulting of an aisle.
- TYMPANUM**: the flat stone filling up the head of an arch.
- VOLUTE**: the spiral twist in an Ionic capital, which formed the type of the similar twisted ornament in some Norman capitals. Fig. 20, p. 62.
- VOUSSOIRS**: the wedge-shaped stones of an arch.
- WAVE-MOULDING**: see fig. 48, p. 72, and fig. 58, p. 77.
- WATER-TABLING**: a string-course running round a gable.

LIST OF BOOKS RECOMMENDED TO STUDENTS.

PREHISTORIC, KELTIC, AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

- Greenwell's British Barrows.
 Anderson's Scotland in Pagan Times.
 Pitt Rivers' Excavations in Cranborne Chase.
 Lubbock's Prehistoric Times.
 Tyler's Primitive Culture.
 Evans' Ancient Stone Implements.
 Boyd Dawkins' Early Man in Britain.
 Boyd Dawkins' Cave Hunting.
 Cartailhac's La France Préhistorique.
 Montelius' Les Temps Préhistorique en Suède.
 Bateman's Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire.
 Bateman's Ten Years' Diggings.
 Pennington's Barrows and Bone Caves of Derbyshire.
 Wright's Kelt, Roman, and Saxon.
 Simpson's British Archaic Sculpturings.
 Rhys' Ethnology of the British Isles.
 Rhys' Celtic Britain.
 Wilson and Thurnam's Crania Britannica.
 And various papers in the *Archæologia*, *Archæological Journal*, *Journal of Archaeological Association*, and *Journal of Anthropological Association*; especially those by Lane-Fox (Gen. Pitt-Rivers), Rolleston, Lukis, Tyler, Evans, and Lubbock.

ARCHITECTURE.

- Rickman's Gothic Architecture.
 Clarke's Mediæval and Military Architecture.
 Turner's History of Domestic Architecture.
 Paley's Gothic Mouldings.
 Parker's Introduction to Gothic Architecture.

Parker's Glossary to Architecture.
 Scott's Lectures on Mediæval Architecture.
 Ferguson's History of Architecture.
 Sharpe's History of Decorated Window Tracery.
 Brandon's Timber Roofs of the Middle Ages.
 Bloxam's Principles of Gothic Architecture.
 Bloxam's Companion to Gothic Architecture.
 Sharpe's Seven Periods of English Architecture.
 Brandon's Analysis of Gothic Architecture.
 Pugin's Specimens of Gothic Architecture.
 Cranage's Churches of Shropshire.
 Willis' Architecture of the Middle Ages.

MONASTICISM.

Brewer's Prefaces to Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, and to *Monumenta Franciscana*, in the Rolls Series.
 Jameson's Legends of the Monastic Orders.
 Guizot's *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*.
 Pauli's *Bilder aus Alt England*.
 Newman's Life of Stephen Harding.
 Fosbroke's British Monachism.
 Dugdale's Monasticon.
 Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.
 Lawton's *Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Diocæsi de Eboracensi*.
 Baildon's Notes on the Religious and Secular Houses of Yorkshire.

CROSSES AND ECCLESIOLOGICAL ANTIQUITIES.

Anderson's Scotland in Early Christian Times.
 Romilly Allen's Christian Symbolism.
 Romilly Allen's Monumental History of the British Church.
 Browne's Conversion of the Heptarchy.
 Paley's Baptismal Fonts.
 Micklethwaite's Lecture on Parish Churches, in *Lectures on Art*.
 Bloxam's Companion to Gothic Architecture.

EFFIGIES, BRASSES, ARMOUR AND COSTUME.

Bontell's Christian Monuments.
 Stothard's Monumental Effigies.
 Cutts' Sepulchral Brasses and Slabs.
 Haines' Monumental Brasses.
 Macklin's Monumental Brasses.

Bontell's Monumental Brasses.
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* I regret that Mr. Addy's works did not fall into my hands till this book was in the press.

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